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CANADIAN JOURNAL OF THE HUMANITIES

N. J. ENDICOTT	Walter de la Mare 1873-1956
A. D. HOPE	The Literary Pattern in Australia
ALEXANDER BRADY	British Conservatism
BARKER FAIRLEY	*The Dawn in Britain*
M. D. C. TAIT	Plato's Use of Myth
BARBARA SEWARD	The Artist and the Rose

MAN AND INDUSTRY

The Impact on Human Well-being of a Rapidly Evolving Industrialization

CHARLES E. HENDRY • SIR GEOFFREY VICKERS, V.C. • OSWALD HALL • DONALD M. PATERSON • MURRAY G. ROSS

ANUARY, 1957

University of Toronto Press

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CONTENTS

Vol. XXVI, No. 2, Jan., 1957

Walter de la Mare 1873–1956	N. J. Endicott	109
The Literary Pattern in Australia	A. D. Hope	122
British Conservatism: Its Political Ideas	Alexander Brady	133
The Dawn in Britain after Fifty Years	Barker Fairley	149
Plato's Use of Myth	M. D. C. Tait	165
The Artist and the Rose	Barbara Seward	180

MAN AND INDUSTRY

THE IMPACT ON HUMAN WELL-BEING OF A RAPIDLY EVOLVING INDUSTRIALIZATION

An Adventure in Action Research	Charles E. Hendry	193
The Needs of Men	Sir Geoffrey Vickers, V.C.	207
The Social Consequences of Uranium Mining	Oswald Hall	226
A Study of Malton	Donald M. Paterson	244
The Round Table and Research	Murray G. Ross	256

REVIEWS

Academic Freedom	Roy Daniells	268
The First Folio	H. S. Wilson	271

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LETTERS IN CANADA 1956

The issue for April will be devoted primarily to *Letters in Canada*, the only complete critical survey of the year's work in Canadian letters. Poetry, fiction, history, social studies, biography, criticism, *belles lettres*, etc., are all authoritatively reviewed and assessed.

Walter de la Mare

1873-1956

N. J. Endicott

To the volume entitled *Tribute to Walter de la Mare on his Seventy-fifth Birthday* T. S. Eliot contributed a poem which runs charmingly over some of de la Mare's more characteristic achievements of atmosphere (including that of "a witches' Sabbath of the maiden aunts") and ends

> By whom, and by what means was this designed?
> The whispered incantation which allows
> Free passage to the phantoms of the mind?
>
> By you; by those deceptive cadences
> Wherewith the common nature is refined
> By conscious art practised with natural ease;
>
> By the delicate invisible web you wove—
> The inexplicable mystery of sound.

True, of course, and written by one who has never shown any disrespect for words. And yet, without being themselves patronizing, these lines, ending as they do with "sound," encourage a view of de la Mare's poetry which is at once very common, very natural, and misleading. The modern taste for revaluations will not tempt me into the folly of belittling the superb modulation of de la Mare's best poetry (Auden even suggests an essay on his use of the spondee), or the so often praised "magic" of his evocations of silence, of twilight, of night and expectation, of the voices of spring. But the words and cadences are only, if we may say only, what they are in the works of other poets, that is, they are the only conceivable (once it is done) way of expressing a vision of life. And the vision of life which some of de la Mare's readers find in his words and cadences and metaphors is in fact one of greater intensity and meaning, though of less complication, than that found in a good many of the more fashionably intellectual or witty poems of our

time. His poetic thought, indeed, is quite as serious as that of more "modern" poets whose mythology or masks offer more reward to research and therefore more aid to reputation.

One might go further and ask whether it is not clearly de la Mare's overdoing of certain kinds of verbal effects, as well as an overplus of bookish inspiration, especially in the earlier poems and some of the short stories, which discourages or repels many readers, and leaves them tired in a sweetness or tangle of words, far from the heart of the mystery. Certainly, the evidence of revision suggests that the author himself sometimes thought so, and we may quote him on Yeats and the dangers of over self-conscious art. Yeats' "Serpent," de la Mare writes, "devours its tail with a certain languor; his 'Phoenix' plays the incendiary with rather too manifold an interest in its ashes. He has ensnared his Beauty and is a little weary in her possession" (from a 1919 review of *The Cutting of an Agate*). The forms of over-elaboration vary, but the spirit is recurrent in those who love their craft. C. S. Lewis, in his eagerness to destroy the "poet's poet" tag about Spenser, goes so far as to say "the very phrase *poet's poet* has, I believe, done incalculable harm . . . so far from being a poet whose excellent and sustained mastery of language is his *only* merit, Spenser is a poet whose chief fault is his uncertainty of style . . . he wrote in an age when English poetry had reached its stylistic nadir . . . of exquisitely bad taste. . . ." Probably it is better to leave Spenser as the *poet's poet* (after all, the poets do seem to have admired his art) than to make him a *bad* poet, but any admirer of Spenser appreciates the nature of the feelings which inspire this outburst against his diffuseness and over-writing. And recognizing where the parallel must stop not to become ludicrous, the same feelings may rise in any one who knows the real interest of de la Mare's writing and sees the same poems repeated in the anthologies, accompanied by the monotonous tag that he is a romantic spell-binder and a charmer of children, himself a lost child in the Georgian garden near the church clock stopped at ten to three.

De la Mare's directness of feeling and thought as compared to the ingenuity of more recent poets is also not without historical parallels. It would certainly be appropriate to suggest a parallel in terms of Herbert or Vaughan as against Cowley. How "uninteresting" the first two must have seemed about 1660. An immediate objection may perhaps be made in relation to Herbert, that the traditional imagery of Herbert, however limited in range, embodies doctrine, as well as the impulse to worship, and has therefore an interest or intellectual pre-

cision beside which de la Mare's thought is vague or "soft." The basis of this judgment takes us beyond proper aesthetic criteria. Moreover the rediscovery of Hopkins, the influence of Eliot and his followers, especially the more theologically orthodox, the importance of certain Catholic writers, the "conversion" of Auden to Anglicanism, the character of Dylan Thomas's thought, seem to lead some literary critics to think that any modern poetic positions between Christian orthodoxy and existentialism, or animism, or archetypal mythology, are not only outmoded but sentimental and thoughtless. It is, however, possible that in its religious and aesthetic temper de la Mare's poetry (though not philosophical) represents to a very full degree not merely the temper of many thoughtful people of the first years of the twentieth century but of many thoughtful people today, even if it is nearer to Hardy than to Dante. Nineteenth-century agnosticism in its gentlest forms may be said to underlie de la Mare's intuitions of man and his place in the universe, with his extraordinary subjectivity and consciousness, his sense of alienation, his sense of pity and love for those on the same island in the sea of life. But there is, as one might expect, a strongly Christian element in his understanding of love, and nothing resigned in his sense of the dignity, depravity and courage of the human spirit.

What, more specifically, are his special preoccupations? I begin from the kind of criticism suggested above. Graham Greene, in an essay on the short stories in the *Tribute* volume, expresses the view that "every creative writer worth our consideration; every writer who can be called in the wide and eighteenth-century use of the term a poet, is a victim: a man given over to an obsession." The obsession may be detected in the recurrent symbols, and the dominant symbol in de la Mare's short stories, says Mr. Greene, is "the railway station" or "the railway journey." Examples are given, and finally a paragraph (to which I add the one following) is quoted from that little masterpiece, *Ding Dong Bell*. The narrator and his companion, a woman, are looking at tombstone inscriptions (some, at least, obviously made by de la Mare himself) in a small country churchyard, at night:

> The dark, flat surface was quite unbroken else. The flame (screened between the shell of my hands) scarcely illumined its margins. The match languished and fell from my fingers.
>
> '"MORS." And what does MORS mean?' inquired that oddly indolent voice in the quiet. 'Was it his name, or his initials, or is it a charm?'
>
> 'It means—well, sleep,' I said, 'Or nightmare, or dawn, or nothing, or—it might mean everything.' I confess though, that to my ear it had the sound

at that moment of an enormous breaker, bursting on the shore of some unspeakably remote island; and we two, marooned.

'Well, that's one,' she said. '"Mors". How dull a word to have so many meanings! You men are rather heavy-handed, you know. You think thinking helps things on. I like that Mors. He was a gentleman.'

Mr. Greene comments:

One thing it will be noticed in all these stories MORS does not mean—it does not mean Hell—or Heaven. That obsession with death that fills Mr. de la Mare's poetry with the whisper of ghosts . . . has never led him to accept—or even to speculate on—the Christian answer. . . . What an odd world to those of us with traditional Christian beliefs is this world of de la Mare's.

Whatever Mr. Greene thinks of the absence of heaven and hell, how odd it is of him to suppose that there has been no speculation, in view of the epigraphs prefaced to the book—from Browne, from Plato, from Webster and Burton, and last of all from Wiclif, "Crist sparid not to visit pore men . . . in the colde greve"—and how odd to choose the railway station when in the very passage quoted there is one of the really central symbols in both verse and prose: the island, self. What is the last poem of *Ding Dong Bell* itself, and the comment on it?—

> O passer-by, beware!
> Is the day fair?—
> Yet unto evening shall the day spin on
> And soon thy sun be gone;
> Then darkness come,
> And this, a narrow home.
> Not that I bid thee fear:
> Only, when thou at last lie here,
> Bethink thee, there shall surely be
> Thy Self for company.

And with its last word a peculiar heat coursed through my body. Consciousness seemed suddenly to concentrate itself (like the tentacles of an anemone closing over a morsel of strange food), and I realized that I was no longer alone. But—and of this I am certain—there was no symptom of positive *fear* in the experience. Intense awareness, a peculiar physical ominous absorption, possibly foreboding; but not actual fear.

The dominant symbols of de la Mare's poems and prose, for instance the traveller, the garden, the listeners, the ghost, reveal that their creator is obsessed not with death, as Graham Greene means death, but with consciousness,[1] the source of delight and horror for child and man. If he is, among other things, the poet of silence and the twilights

of dawn and dusk, it is because his perception of these atmospheres has an intensity beyond that of physical sensibility. The terror in some of the children's poems, the haunting quality of songs like "Peacock Pie," and of so many of his moments of awareness and apprehension (sometimes with such overtones of spiritual danger) come from a brooding awareness of how

> in this sea of life enisled . . .
> We mortal millions live *alone*,

and of the incredible though obviously possible loss of identity in the death of the body:

> Heart-near or fancy-far
> All's thine to make or mar.
> Thine its sole consciousness
> Whether thou ban or bless.
> Loving delight forgot,
> Life's very roots must rot.
> Be it for better or worse,
> Thou art thy universe.
> If then at length thou must
> Render them both to dust,
> Go with their best in trust.
> If thou wake never: well.
> But if perchance thou find
> Light, that small gloom behind,
> Thou'lt have wherewith to tell
> If thou'rt in heaven or hell!

These lines, from "Self to Self," were published in 1928. In 1950 the theme gives its title to a volume of poems, *Inward Companion. Winged Chariot* (1951), de la Mare's longest poem, is a discursive treatment of clock-time and Time, and how

> Reason strives on to bridge the vague abyss
> Sev'ring the human from the languageless,
> Its countless kinds and spheres of consciousness,

and *The Traveller* (1946), a shorter but more impressive work of nearly six hundred lines, is de la Mare's most explicitly symbolic treatment of the theme.

The Traveller opens on a strange and un-English landscape, very personal to the poet and evoked with great vividness and the same symbolic purpose in prose in that extraordinary sketch "The Vats" (*The Riddle*, 1923). It is an earth-moon landscape suggesting immensity and time:

The blue of space dreamed level with his eye.
A league beneath, like lava long at rest,
Lay a vast plateau, smooth as porphyry,
Its huge curve gradual as a woman's breast. . . .

Not the least ripple broke the saffron sheen
Shed by the evening on this wild abyss.
Far countries he had roved, and marvels seen,
But never such a prodigy as this.

It is so fabulous that he wonders if, "in his own sole being long confined," he has been lured to those outskirts where the mind "Reveals an actual none else can share." After some days he ventures on and sees, as it were, the beginnings of life:

The call of waters kept his ears a-cock—
Creeks fed by cataracts now left behind.
Forests of fungi in the lichened rock
Showed ashen wan and grey as withy-wind;

Spawn of a gendering hour, yet hoar with age,
They stood sun-bleached, ephemera of the night,
And—thing past even speculation strange—
Growths never grazed till now by human sight.

What tinier atomies of life were bred
Beneath their skin-thin gills, tents, muted bells,
Eye could not guess—as procreant a bed
As is man's body with its countless cells.

The furtive mist, these clustered funguses—
Minutest stirrings of primeval slime,
The empty heavens, aloof and measureless,
Illusions seemed, not only of space, but time.

Then follows a dream of men, and how

They had chosen evil, had resigned the good;
False, faithless, pitiless, and of nought afraid,

and a day of judgment, himself one of those to be judged, and as fallen as Satan. This is followed by the temptation of despair:

He, Envoy of the Earth!—that mothering breast;
Those Suns and Sons, what meaning could he find?—
A cold satanic irony at best,
Or scoff of that mocking-bird in sleep, his mind.

and a solitude so intense that

> like a castaway adrift,
> Lashed to a raft upon a chartless sea,
> His only motion the huge roller's lift,
> Its depths his only hope at peace to be. . . .
>
> So tense was this his solitude—the sky
> Its mute and viewless canopy—that when
> His grieved 'O God' was followed by a sigh,
> It seemed eternity had breathed amen.
>
> Ay, as if cock, horizon-far, had crowed,
> His heart, like Peter's, had been rent in twain.
> At pang of it his grief again up-flowed,
> Though its "Who's there?" called only in his brain. . . .

Then comes fear and the longing for death, resisted by flight, and finally a visionary experience, elaborated through a good many stanzas, and difficult to represent without ample quotation. At the end, both about to die, rider and horse face the rising sun:

> That eye of Heaven, mansion of secret light,
> Whose beams of all that's lovely are the shrine,
> Procreant, puissant, arbiter of Sight,
> Emblem and symbol of the light divine—
>
> Moved by an impulse beyond wit to scan,
> His poor rags stirring in a fitful breeze,
> This worn, outwearied, errant son of man
> Paused, bowed his head, fell down upon his knees;
>
> And, with a faint and lamentable cry,
> Poured hoarsely forth a babble of praise and prayer,
> Sun on his brows, above the boundless sky,
> No living soul to hear or heed him there . . .
>
> A self there is that listens in the heart
> To what is past the range of human speech,
> Which yet has urgent tidings to impart—
> The all-but-uttered, and yet out of reach.
>
> Beneath him an immeasurable well
> Of lustrous crystal motionlessly black
> Deeped on. And as he gazed—marvel past words to tell—
> It seemed to him a presence there gazed back:
>
> Rapt, immaterial, remote; ev'n less
> In substance than is image of the mind;
> And yet, in all-embracing consciousness
> Of its own inmost being; elsewhere blind:

Past human understanding to conceive;
Of virgin innocence, yet source of all
That matter had the power to achieve
Ere Man created was, ere Adam's fall:

And in its midst a mote scarce visible—
Himself: the momentary looking-glass
Of Nature, which a moment may annul,
And with earth's hosts may into nothing pass:

The flux of change. Ay, this poor Traveller too—
Soon to be dust, though once erect, elate,
From whose clear gaze a flame divine burned through;
A son of God—no sport of Time or Fate:

The Traveller's noble Arab horse, snuffing the rags, the matted hair, and the smell of death, takes flight in frenzy, and the poem ends with a stanza linked metaphorically with the opening description:

Sweet is the Earth, though sorrow and woe it have,
Though parched, at length, the milk within its breast;
And then the night-tide of the all-welcoming grave
For those who weary, and a respite crave:
Inn at the cross roads, and the traveller's rest. . . .

There are three guiding epigraphs: "I saw that the universe is not composed of dead matter but is . . . a living presence";

"Le soir vient; et le globe à son tour s'éblouit
Devient un œil énorme et regarde la nuit . . .;

and

"Not in lone splendour hung aloft the night
But watching. . . ."

At the risk of raised eyebrows over so much quotation from *The Traveller* I have tried to give, in the poet's own words, some idea of de la Mare's often terrifying awareness of the "inward companion," of the isolation of each microcosm, of what in "The Vats" he calls "Time-pure," and of the moments of vision or "dream." But the poet of these solitudes is also much more appreciative of the natural and daily manifestations of human existence than the more popular of his poems might suggest. This is notably apparent in his literary criticism, although obvious enough even in the children's poems, with their humour and realism. From 1908,[2] when he left his position with the Anglo-American oil company after eighteen years of this drudgery, de la Mare did a good deal of reviewing. Subjective and discursive, the reviews are sometimes, like the notes in his anthologies, too whimsical or bookishly elaborate. But they yield many pithy observations (for instance, that

when he wrote *Robinson Crusoe* Defoe "was forty-eight years older than a boy of twelve"), many illuminating criticisms of the most particular literary value, and above all they demonstrate the range and good sense of his perceptions and the fact that his view of life was not by any means protected or timid. He himself was not capable of writing about many kinds of experience; the characterization in his own short stories and novels is sometimes vitiated by a certain softness of romantic longing or romantic idealization of moments of extreme sensibility; there is too much "atmosphere," and, as in *The Return*, something incomplete and unrealized about the relationships, especially those of men and women. For this reason his literary criticism is especially interesting as a demonstration of the fact that he had an appetite healthy enough to enjoy Defoe and Butler and Donne and Hardy and Tchekov along with Christina Rossetti or Vaughan or Tennyson. We might expect appreciation of Tennyson's "impeccable truth of observation"; who that knows only the usual tags attached to de la Mare's temperament, often by friends, would expect him to have written, in a review of Grierson's edition of Donne contemporaneous with the reviews of T. S. Eliot and Rupert Brooke (1913), that the general tone of Grierson's essay suggests too much apology, or that though Donne may "perplex the mind of the fair sex" yet

> None the less, except it be Browning, far more of a sentimentalist, in spite of his philosophical gallantry, than Donne, to no other poet do women—apart from the "fair sex"—owe a rarer debt: for his insight, exquisite tenderness, and masculine understanding. No man ever "deeper digg'd loves Myne" than Donne, nor retrieved from it a stranger treasure. . . . Reading him, we do not throw off the world; we are not, as by a miracle, made innocent and happy. "Witty depravity," the sharpest actuality, extremes of exultation and despair, passion and disillusionment, love, death, the grave, corruption—all this is the material of his verse—a verse that breaks into beauty and music the moment feeling and thought are clear and free. Everything that we have—mind, body, soul—he invites to his intimacy.
>
> *A naked thinking heart, that makes no show*
>
> is his demand . . .

What could be better than his characterization of the general impression of the personality of Henry James as it is revealed in *Notes on Novelists*:

> For, above all, there is that general pervasive human presence, of which we are continually, as it were, in the midst—as if a grave dignitary of an ancient ritual, distinguished no less by his office than in his person, should bless the whole wonderful new creation of the living world of literature, a prelate who, in spite of the ceremonious vestments sacred to his calling,

can still accept or dismiss with a familiar gesture of the hand and with a smile of eye and mouth as far removed as courtesy and indulgence can be from the merely hieratic.

But what critical reserve there is when it comes to the vital question of direct experience. James "does not strike the rock setting free a gush of waters. He distils the distilled . . . even beauty is an *influence* rather than a *presence*." By contrast Tchekov's *The Steppe*

> though it merely describes the long journey to school of a small boy . . . not only gives life and actuality—indeed the whole history of its many characters . . . but positively flings open the gates of earthly experience . . . melancholy and joy, beauty and ugliness, goodness and evil, they are but the shifting lights and shadows of humanity. It is all one to Tchekov, so be it that every one "even the angry frogs," *live* every minute of life. "For we live only once."

It would be quite safe to say that with most writers of genius, however strong his own opposition of temperament, de la Mare is alive to that intensity and integrity which makes for greatness. At the same time his humanity, as well as his sense of irony, may draw from him such a moving epigram, or epitaph, as that on Swift:

> That sovereign mind;
> Those bleak, undaunted eyes;
> Never to life, or love, resigned—
> How strange that he who abhorred cant, humbug, lies,
> Should be aggrieved by such simplicities
> As age, as ordure, and as size.

In discussing his reviews I have perhaps strayed to the periphery of de la Mare's work in order to illustrate his range, his good sense, and the value he puts on direct experience. But it would be perverse, at this moment only a few months from his death, not to pay some tribute to those lovely and perfected poems in which, like most lyrical poets, he has made the already too much loved earth more lovely yet, those poems in which we pass from the sharpest and most vivid representation of appearance to the most subtle evocations of feeling, from the sheer joy of morning and dewy freshnes to the strange or even sinister atmosphere sometimes lurking about quite ordinary things. A good many poets have praised de la Mare's craftsmanship; Sir Stephen Tallents speaks of his verbal fastidiousness even when working on sugar rationing schemes and forms in 1917, and says "but the lunch-time portrait of him which has survived in my memory is of a dark head bent over a scrap of paper and, on that scrap, a fine pen trying out, one below the other, alternative

words that might exactly fit the poet's thought and satisfy his fastidious ear." How else achieve such precision as

> Snow soft as ghost-moth is Time's winnowing wing

or

> Coloured with buds of delight the boughs are swaying

or

> Dim-berried is the mistletoe
> With globes of sheenless grey,
> The holly mid ten thousand thorns
> Smoulders its fires away.

or

> Here is calm Autumn now, the woodlands quake,
> And, where this splendour of death lies under the tread,
> The Spectre of frost will stalk and a silence make,
> And snow's white shroud be spread.

or the haunting cadences of "The House",

> 'Mother, it's such a lonely house,'
> The child cried; and the wind sighed.
> 'A narrow but a lovely house'
> The mother replied.
>
> 'Child, it is such a narrow house,'
> The ghost cried; and the wind sighed.
> 'A narrow and a lonely house,'
> The withering grass replied.'

These are obviously not just *verbal* felicities, but in view of earlier statements one should perhaps quote one or two examples of the kind of figures of speech which would, in the poets usually so honoured, tempt the explicators of today to all extremities of analysis and ambiguity. Auden has in fact made the point in reference to the "metaphysical conceit" found in the lovely lines

> More silent yet; pure solace to the sight,
> The dwindling candle with her pensive light
> Metes out the leaden watches of the night,
> And, in that service, from herself takes flight.

There are many such.

When de la Mare's ashes were buried in St. Paul's Cathedral at the end of June of this year (he had himself been a chorister, a "childe of Paules"), one of the hymns sung was Gerhardt's "The duteous day

now closeth" of which the second stanza is rather surprisingly like one of de la Mare's own in the manner of its praise of nature. It goes on to a "disesteem" of this life "that doth from Truth man's vision seal," and to a specifically Christian conclusion about the "fields of everlasting life." In de la Mare, for the most part,

> We wake and whisper awhile
> And, the day gone by,
> Silence and sleep like fields of amaranth lie.

But as I have already claimed, it is not in the mood of sleep or death (the horror of whose easeful fascination the poet was very aware of) that we find the essence of his thought and feeling. It is rather when he celebrates the recurrence of spring, of joy, of beauty, and love:

> it was a night
> That in its darkness rocked Orion's stars;
> A sighing wind ran faintly white
> Along the willows, and the cedar boughs
> Laid their wide hands in stealthly peace across
> The starry silence of their antique moss:
> No sound save rushing air
> Cold, yet all sweet with Spring,
> And, in thy mother's arms, couched weeping there,
> Thou, lovely thing.
> ("The Birthright")

or

> Green in light are the hills, and a calm wind flowing
> Filleth the void with a flood of the fragrance of Spring
> Wings in this mansion of life are coming and going,
> Voices of unseen loveliness carol and sing. . . .
>
> Oh, now begone sullen care—this light is my seeing;
> I am the palace, and mine are its windows and walls;
> Daybreak is come, and life from the darkness of being
> Springs like a child from the womb, when the lonely one calls.
> ("The Reawakening")

It is perhaps most of all in those poems in which, despite a full awareness of cruelty and suffering, he expresses his conviction that, whatever the conditions of existence, "the flame divine burns through." He has written many poems for and about children; yet it does not seem to

me perverse to end with reference to one not much known, "The Slum Child." The poem opens on a stony landscape:

> No flower grew where I was bred,
> No leafy tree
> Its canopy of greenness spread
> Over my youthful head—

instead "a woodland walk of gutter stone" where at night the street lamps flare on "weary skulking beggary" and the empty-bellied child creeps up noisome stairs to the crowded mattress of uneasy sleep. There are reflections on the human guilt for this "evil and filth and poverty" but nevertheless de la Mare ends with

> Yet caged within those spectral bones
> Aloof and safe,
> Some hidden one made mock of groans,
> Found living bread in stones.
>
> O Mystery of mysteries!
> Between my hands I take that face,
> Bloodless and bleak, unchildlike wise—
> Epitome of man's disgrace—
> I search its restless eyes,
> And, from those woe-flecked depths at me
> Looks back through all its misery
> A self beyond surmise.

NOTES

1 "Of these four absorbing studies, that of consciousness, perhaps, has been the means of suggesting what is the most unusual quality of *The Dynasts*. . . . The reader's consciousness is Mr. Hardy's stage. He translates . . . the macrocosm without—that world of a Great Historical Calamity, or Clash of Peoples—into terms of the quiet brooding world within." (Review of *The Dynasts*, 1910.) Or again, of Hardy's lyrics, "Every line of them—best and worst—is sealed with his own hand. We share an intense solitude of the spirit. We are as close to actual experience as words can bring us." (Review of *Collected Poems*, 1919.)

2 "I had by then . . . failed as a writer. No fewer than three books had by then appeared, two of verse, and one, an extravagant romance *Henry Brocken*. And by 1908 their financial 'takings' for the author amounted to a deficit occasioned by his purchasing the copyright of two of them for £20. I had also contributed two or three reviews to *The Bookman*." (Preface to *Private View*, 1953, xii.)

The Literary Pattern in Australia

A. D. Hope

A man who looks at his own country and tries to give a picture of it for foreign eyes is bound to find a good many of his countrymen disagreeing with him and saying that they have been misrepresented. But an attempt to be quite objective may be as colourless as a personal view may be biased. A man will usually give you a better account of his family if he does not try to be "objective" about the members of it but speaks from the heart. I am encouraged to give a personal view of the condition of literature in Australia by the fact that an admirably objective account of it has already appeared in the issue of the QUARTERLY for January 1956. Professor C. T. Bissell's succinct sketch of the historical development of Australian writing relieves me, moreover, of the task of tracing the roots and the stages of its growth.

Australia, or at any rate those parts of it where most of the Australians live, is a remarkably homogeneous country in scenery and vegetation, in its speech, its culture, its *mores*, its average way of life. An Australian from almost any part of the continent lives in much the same sort of house, enjoys much the same standard of living for the same income, goes to the same sort of school, wears the same sorts of clothes and has the same sorts of amusements and interests. And just as there is no specifically regional culture, so there is no specific regional literature. Roughly half the population lives in cities on the seaboard, the rest in the country or in country towns not much bigger than villages and sharing a strong family likeness in architecture and layout. The capital itself is a small town of some thirty thousand people, so planned that from almost any part of it the visitor has the impression of being in open country.

This illusion of being in open country and this sameness of outlook, habits and interests are typical of its literature. For it is a literature that

is largely concerned with the life on the land and pays very little attention to life in the cities and larger towns. This is perhaps natural, for the culture of the cities is for the most part cosmopolitan and provincial, whereas that of the country and the country towns has a character quite of its own, parochial perhaps, but genuinely and recognizably Australian, and it has been the ambition of nine tenths of the poets and novelists of the country to depict and record the typical and authentic Australia in something like its own terms. This is, no doubt, a character of colonial literatures everywhere. There is the lure of a great mass of unexplored and unexploited material and there is the natural urge to come to terms with one's native surroundings. But Australian writing seems to me to have deliberately prolonged its adolescence. In essentials the job was done fifty years ago, yet Australian poets and novelists are still busy pioneering. One cannot imagine an English or a French novelist making it his prime object to depict the national life and character accurately. Depiction of the typical in these countries can now be taken for granted. There is no problem for the English novelist in being sufficiently "English" to win acceptance. But books are still apt to be judged in Australia by the degree to which they are "Australian" in atmosphere and outlook.

This obsession with the scene rather than with the individual, with what is typical rather than with what is distinctive, with what is specifically Australian rather than with what is specifically human comes out in other ways. More than half the novels which have some claim to distinction are historical novels. There seems to be a natural affinity between pioneering a literature and literature about pioneering the land. If a list is made of the best known and most successful novels written since the turn of the century it is found that most of them are in one sense or another historical or represent an attempt to create a picture of the country through the medium of fiction.[1] There are, of course, a few good novels that fall outside this group, but it represents the prevailing pattern.

Australian novelists seem to be perpetually looking over their shoulders and there is in fact a general feeling that the "real Australia" for which they are all looking lies somewhere in the past. What in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth was a genuine attempt to create an image and shape for the country, has now, I feel, degenerated into a dream of an illusory or ideal country, a country of droving and pioneering, of exploration and settlement, of free enterprise and adventure, of a simple and comradely way of life; all a comforting contrast

to the actual present, a highly industrialized modern society, a thoroughly urbanized way of life, even in rural areas, and all the comfortable monotony of a social service state. The past was the "real Australia": a country of individuals and individualists engaged in a simple and heroic struggle with soil and weather. Perhaps this is why the writers of fiction so often turn back to the world of Henry Lawson and Joseph Furphy, to the Rum Rebellion, the Eureka Stockade and the bushranging exploits of Ned Kelly and Starlight. What began as an attempt to come to grips with reality has ended in an attempt to impose a dream. A recent novel which has been applauded both in Australia and in America, Patrick White's *The Tree of Man*, is a case in point. White has lived abroad; his writing shows him to be aware of and able to take his place among novelists of the day; his technique is sophisticated and experimental; he has a powerful conception of character, and his theme, unlike that of many of his contemporaries and predecessors, is centred in exceptional and individual characters. Yet he has been unable to resist the "pattern" that seems imposed on Australian fiction: the story is one of pioneering on the land; the life and humours of a small bush community are arbitrarily added to his central theme; the dramas of fire, flood, drought, isolation and the struggle to make a living are introduced one by one as stock ingredients; the city is represented as alien territory and the more comfortably off as an alien race. The whole thing is set in the past, though not in the distant past. What makes it the more striking is that all the clichés of Australian fiction are there and that none of these clichés is really relevant to the theme.

Another curious feature of Australian fiction is its predilection for lower class life. Professor Bissell has noticed the origin of this in the socialism of the eighteen-nineties, the lead given by the socialist and nationalist weekly *The Bulletin* in establishing an Australian school of writers at a time when socialism and nationalism made common cause. But the odd thing is that this tradition has persisted, though the structure of Australian society has altered completely since the turn of the century. The great fortunes of the rich, the predominance of the landed interests, the absence of social services and the lack of political power of the working classes have all been things of the past for a long time. Australia is now a highly organized social service state, an industrialized state in which the three major power groups—industry, labour and agriculture—are represented by political parties with only minor differences of policy. The Labour party has quietly dropped its policy of socialism and now represents groups of trade unions whose monopoly

of one of the means of production and whose use of this monopoly make it indistinguishable from any other type of cartel. All parties are thoroughly committed to a social service programme which mitigates the naked struggle of sectional interests, but leaves the parties without distinctive policies. The Australian people form a middle class, without a proletariat or wealthy leisured class. Yet Australian fiction lives up to its name, by practically ignoring commerce and trade, the professions, all groups except the lower income groups, just as, on the whole, it ignores the cities and concentrates on the country. The "real Australian" in fiction is always a drover, a shearer, a small farmer, a wharf labourer, a factory hand, a miner or prospector, very rarely a business man, a lawyer, a scholar, an artist, a station-owner or a civil servant, unless these occupations are made romantic by an historical setting in the past. The wife of a foreign diplomat, after reading some of our best-known novels, once asked me to explain the fact that we have what she called "a peasant literature." In recent years the left-wing movement in writing which calls itself Social Realism has been able to exploit this tendency and has attracted many of the young writers and quite a number of the older ones, although communism has made comparatively little progress in a country with almost no proletariat to exploit. So the tendency to limit the field of fiction to the "workers" is, if anything, increasing.

Poetry in Australia has a similar tendency to be concerned mainly with the scenery. The shadow of Wordsworth hangs heavy on the poets, from Harpur and Kendall in the early nineteenth century to Douglas Stewart and Judith Wright at the present day. It would hardly be unfair to say that nine out of ten poems published in the country are descriptive. Still there are signs of a change in attitude from the earlier poetry which aimed, like the novel, at giving an impression of the country for its own sake, to the poetry of people like Judith Wright, Rosemary Dobson, Nancy Keesing, and Nan McDonald which starts *from* rather than aims *at* description of place and things. And there is a great deal more variety in Australian poetry than in Australian fiction. For one thing there has always been another tradition than the "National" one, a tradition of poetry that was simply poetry and dealt with the traditional subjects of poetry. I suppose that this has been its protection. After all, love is one of the commonest themes of poetry and even the most rabid nationalist might hesitate to maintain that there is a specifically Australian brand of love. Some of the best of the older poets, people like Brennan, McCrae and Neilson have had nothing specifically Australian about their work and this has perhaps encouraged some of the best of

the younger poets to avoid the two major fallacies of our poetry: that to look at scenery is in itself to have a poetic experience, and that not to deal with themes specifically Australian is to be derivative, second-hand and "academic." Another advantage the poets enjoy which the writers of fiction do not, is that poetry does not pay and is not expected to, so that there is no pressure from the market, which in fiction undoubtedly favours the romantic or highly coloured Australian themes.

I should say that poetry is in a healthy state in Australia today. After a period of literary measles in the twenties and thirties when imagism, surrealism, apocalypse and other experimental diseases took a temporary hold, and the baneful effects of imitating Mr. T. S. Eliot's methods of verse were seen in nearly all the younger poets, the country has now returned to writing in the main stream of the tradition and "making it new" in the traditional manner. There are at least a dozen poets with a high degree of craftsmanship and all have something to say. Apart from those already mentioned I would include the names of Vincent Buckley, James McAuley, Ronald McCuaig, Kenneth Slessor, Robert Fitzgerald, Douglas Stewart, A. D. Hope, David Campbell, John Thompson, John Manifold and Harold Stewart. Mr. Stewart is an interesting example. All the poets of Australia naturally draw on the European literary tradition—sometimes at second-hand through the United States but Stewart draws largely on the art and literature of India, China and Japan. This may be merely a literary oddity, but on the other hand it may be the first sign of an influence which is destined to increase with time. These oriental civilizations are Australia's nearest neighbours and, since the war, have begun to enter our consciousness. Oriental students come here in increasing numbers to study, universities are beginning to establish the study of oriental languages and history, and in the pattern of the future there is bound to be much more awareness, at the least, of oriental culture and civilization. Stewart is a powerful and accomplished poet and knows his subject thoroughly. His excursion into the field is not simply romantic *chinoiserie*. Another difference between the poets and the prose writers is the greater preference of the former for the city as a subject. In spite of the fact that there are a number of competent and interesting poets in the country, Australia shows the same tendency as the rest of the world to limit poetry to short lyrics, short reflective pieces and short descriptions. Nothing approaching a major poet has yet appeared or shows any sign of appearing.

Drama is easily dealt with. It is practically non-existent. Professor

Bissell's article has indicated the reason for this. The theatre has always had a precarious life in Australia and has been hard hit by the cinema. Professional production is largely in the hands of one or two entrepreneurs who prefer to stage plays which have been proved successes in England or America. There is a lively little theatre movement in the main cities and these amateur companies are the only ones to produce Australian plays. But as they grow in competence, there are signs that the wind may be changing. *The Summer of the Seventeenth Doll* by an Australian, Ray Lawler, after successful runs in the capital cities, has been accepted for professional production in London. The formation of the Elizabethan Theatre Trust, which helped to give this play a start, may do something to produce an Australian drama. The only real opening for the dramatist in Australia is in the form of radio plays. The national and the commercial radio stations have a great appetite for them but the level is mostly that of amusement and what might be called dramatized journalism. Douglas Stewart, a New Zealander, who has made a considerable place for himself as a poet and critic in this country, has also produced several radio dramas in verse—or rather the poetic recitative that seems to be favoured for this sort of drama; two of these, *Ned Kelly* and *The Fire on the Snow*, have proved effective and moving. The choice of subject, Antarctic exploration and Australian bushranging, suggests the same sort of bias as is shown in the Australian novel.

To turn, now, from the flowers and fruit to the roots, the conditions under which literature is produced in Australia, the most important single point to be made is that very few writers in this country can afford to be professional writers in the sense of earning a living by writing. This has always been the case, and it perhaps accounts for the fact that there is a general air of amateurishness about Australian writing. Writers here have always had to contend with competition from books published overseas. Australians, the publishers tell me, are great readers. They buy more books per head of population than readers in practically any other country. But the educated people—one cannot speak of an educated or cultured class—naturally want to know what is being written in England and America and these books appear with all the attraction of success already achieved. Publishing is booming and Australian books have a ready sale but an Australian writer has little bargaining power with a publisher unless he is already famous. There is a national association of authors, the Fellowship of Australian Writers, with branches in each of the states except South Australia. It serves the

double purpose of a social club for writers and a professional association, but it has not been able to achieve very much to raise standards of living for writers or to establish a proper rate of payment as, for example, has been the case with the Australian Journalists' Association. It has been unable to put the sort of pressure on publishers exerted, for instance, by the American Guild of Authors. On the other hand, large and reputable publishing firms such as Cheshires in Melbourne and Angus and Robertson in Sydney have voluntarily and consistently published works of literature, particularly poetry, for which they could not hope to get much return. The immense rise in publishing costs is bound to make this more difficult and government support for literature on an increasing scale seems to be the only solution. An effort by the Fellowship in New South Wales in 1930 to get a standard author-publisher agreement was turned down by the publishers and this is likely to be the fate of any similar attempt.

Government help is already available in a small way. A Commonwealth Literary Fund has been in existence now for nearly twenty years. It is controlled by a committee consisting of the leaders of the main political parties, an advisory committee appointed by the government whose members are people eminent as writers and others distinguished for their interest in Australian literature, and a permanent secretary who is a member of the Prime Minister's Department. It advises the government on matters relating to literature, confers pensions on aged or indigent writers, grants two fellowships annually to the value of £A1000 each to enable writers and critics to write books on approved subjects, makes grants to publishers and guarantees them against loss for particular books, which must first be submitted to it for approval, sponsors a series of lectures on Australian literature annually in each of the universities, and makes grants for the support of literary magazines. The Fund is liberally administered and, though under direct political control, has resisted pressures brought from time to time in Parliament and the press to take the political views of writers into consideration when they apply for help. On the other hand its excellent work is very much limited by the fact that its total grant is only £12,000 a year for the assistance of literature in a country of nearly ten million people. Australians, in other words, contribute directly to the support of literature, which admittedly cannot support itself, at a rate of less than a halfpenny a head. The Commonwealth Literary Fund needs a very large increase in its grant, if it is to be really effective. This is

to make it more instead of less difficult to get certain sorts of books published. Publishers who in the past might have been prepared to take a risk on a book of poems, for example, now tend to make a grant or guarantee from the Fund a condition of publication. This is understandable, but it argues for an increase in the resources of the Fund. Government in Australia has not attempted or envisaged anything like the Canadian government's *Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters & Sciences, 1949–1951* (the Massey Report), though this is something that obviously needs to be done.

Government has also given relief to authors, partly as a result of representations by the Fellowship of Australian Writers, by special provisions in the income tax regulation. Before 1953 a novelist, for example, who, often after years of struggle, published a novel which was a financial success, paid the full rate of tax on his royalties in that year. The novel might have taken him two or three years to write and during that time he may have had practically no income from his writing. Farmers, on the other hand, who are a powerful group and are represented by a major political party, had long enjoyed the privilege of paying tax on an income averaged over several years, to offset the inequalities arising from failure of crops or variations in the market. Something like this more equitable system of assessing income is now extended to writers, though provision is still not so liberal as that extended to other primary producers.

Government also influences the conditions of writers through tariffs and through censorship. There is a very high import duty on imported books but publishing costs are so high in Australia that this does not act as protective tariff for the local writer and it actually penalizes him if he has the good fortune to find a publisher in England or America. A number of English publishing firms, however, have now established branches in Australia and overcome the tariff problem to some extent by publishing simultaneously in England and in this country.

Until a few years ago there was no internal censorship of books in Australia except in so far as the ordinary crimes acts of the various states could be invoked against works deemed blasphemous or indecent. This was rare as the police did not as a rule concern themselves with literature unless a private citizen laid a complaint. However at least four Australian states have now passed acts for the control of publication within their jurisdiction. They were aimed primarily at control of horror comics and sex comics and cheap magazine literature likely to come into the hands of children. In all these states, however, there

have been protests from writers, publishers and the universities on the very good grounds that the acts in each case were framed without proper safeguards against their being used for attacks on serious literature. These protests were, without exception, ineffective.

Until a few years ago a censorship, which varied considerably in its enlightenment—never very high—and the wisdom of its application, was exercised by the Minister for Customs, under the Customs Act. The worst features of this censorship were that it was arbitrarily applied by customs officials without special qualifications for judging literature, that there was no appeal from the Minister's decision, and that even booksellers and importers of books had no access to the list of banned works and could not know whether they were likely to infringe the law until they had actually done so. Although authority to ban imported books still rests solely with the Minister for Customs, he now acts mainly on the advice of an independent board of censors, whose members are mostly academic authorities on literature. Any work of literature about which there is doubt is referred to this board by the customs authorities and their advice is practically always taken. In case of disagreement reference can be made to an Appeals Censor. Grounds of censorship are indecency, obscenity, blasphemy and undue emphasis on violence. The board has always consisted of educated and liberal-minded men and I know of no complaints, either from authors or from publishers, about its decisions. It is said, though I have not verified the statement, that it has never recommended the banning of any work of genuine literary merit. Censorship is a controversial question but Australia, compared with some other countries, seems to have reached a reasonable and sensible compromise on the question. There is no political censorship and the country enjoys freedom of the press and of speech. Public opinion is alert and protest is immediate and vigorous whenever freedom of expression is endangered. It is an interesting fact that in such protests the lead is usually given by the universities.

Australia with a population almost exactly three fifths that of Canada has comparatively few universities, three in New South Wales and one each in the other states. In addition there is a University College in the capital and a research University which does not, however, cover the field of humanities. The model for all of the teaching universities was the Scottish universities in the nineteenth century rather than Oxford and Cambridge or London. All of them have departments of English but little attention has been paid to Australian literature at university level. It was for this reason that the Commonwealth Literary Fund

established its lectures in Australian Literature, ten lectures each year in each of the universities, with the proviso that they should form part of the English course. Some universities carry this out to the letter, others include a few of these lectures in their courses but give the rest as public lectures. In general the treatment of Australian literature in the universities is desultory and unsystematic. But there are signs of a change of attitude, if not of a complete change of heart. Canberra University College has established a separate course in Australian literature, and the University of Sydney has agreed to establish a chair of Australian Literature, provided funds can be raised by public subscription. The University of Melbourne is considering the establishing of a joint course in Australian literature and Australian history to be shared by the departments concerned. The University of Adelaide appears to be moving towards a readership in Australian literature.

The University of Melbourne administers a considerable private foundation, the Lockie Bequest, for the encouragement of literature in Australia and helps to support *Meanjin*, one of the two well-established literary magazines in the country. The other, *Southerly*, is supported mainly by the publishing firm of Angus and Robertson.[2]

The general lack of interest in Australian writing shown in the past by the universities is reflected in several ways. Few of the better writers have been university trained though this is not the case today. Hardly any scholarly work has been done in the subject and there is a lack of intelligent and informed criticism. Fulbright scholars coming to Australia from the United States to study Australian literature are usually surprised to find that material for scholarly study in bibliography, biography, histories of Australian literature and monographs on individual writers is almost entirely lacking or extremely primitive compared with what they expect from their experience of the study of American literature in their own country. There is no single comprehensive history of Australian literature, though one is in preparation by H. M. Green, former librarian of Sydney University. A one-volume bibliography by Morris Miller exists and has just been brought up to date, but is necessarily rather summary and superficial. Mr. Justice Ferguson's monumental Australian bibliography, which should meet the purposes of serious scholarship, has so far not passed the middle of the nineteenth century. The great public libraries have built up splendid accumulations of books, manuscripts and other material, but these have still to be worked over, and the University libraries in general are pitiably inadequate in their materials for study.

Criticism and assessment are still rudimentary, for the very good reason that, without systematic treatment of the subject by universities, there is practically nowhere else where criticism can appear. Reviewing is lively and sensible but extremely limited. A few of the larger newspapers run a "literary page" once a week but reviews are limited to a few hundred words and this form of criticism is necessarily inadequate and often seems perfunctory or arbitrary. *Southerly* and *Meanjin* keep up a reasonable standard of criticism but cannot afford long articles. To the critic in Australia a journal like the QUARTERLY in which he might develop his ideas and attempt a thorough assessment is little more than a fantastic dream. Criticism in this country, with a few notable exceptions, may well be described in the words of Hobbes as "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short."

NOTES

1 Such are William Hay's *The Escape of the Notorious Sir William Heans*, 1919 (the convict system); Miles Franklin's *Old Blastus of Bandicoot*, 1931, and *All that Swagger*, 1936 (pioneering in New South Wales); G. B. Lancaster's *Pageant*, 1933 (pioneering in Tasmania); Henry Handel Richardson's *The Fortunes of Richard Mahony*, 1917 (Victoria in the period of the gold rushes); Katherine Susannah Prichard's *Working Bullocks*, 1926 (timber-getting in Western Australia) and *The Roaring Nineties*, 1946 (the gold rushes in Western Australia); Vance Palmer's *The Passage*, 1930 (life in a fishing village on the Queensland coast in the twenties) and *Golconda*, 1948 (the growth of a mining community in Queensland); Martin Boyd's *The Montforts*, 1928 (a family saga and chronicle of Australian life from the 1840's to the end of the First World War); M. Barnard Eldershaw's *A House is Built*, 1929 (early days in Sydney) and *Green Memory*, 1931 (Sydney in the mid-nineteenth century); Eleanor Dark's *The Timeless Land*, 1941 (the first settlement in Sydney); Brian Penton's *Landtakers*, 1934 and *Inheritors*, 1936 (pioneering in Queensland); Xavier Herbert's *Capricornia*, 1938 (pioneering in the Northern Territory; Ernestine Hill's *My Love Must Wait*, 1941 (the life of Matthew Flinders, the explorer).

2 Since this article was written, a new literary magazine *Quadrant*, supported by the Australian Committee for Cultural Freedom, has been launched.

British Conservatism: Its Political Ideas

Alexander Brady

The relation of the two major parties in Britain to political ideas is a central if sometimes ambiguous feature in the democracy. Although the facts of universal suffrage and parliamentary government have tended to make the parties closely resemble each other in tenets and strategy, they remain distinct as the vehicles for different groups of people, different interests, and different attitudes of mind.

The distinctions in outlook and thought between them, however, may easily be over-simplified. It is a simplification to assert that since the advent of democracy there has been a party to the right and a party to the left, a party of movement and a party of defence. Certainly there has been such a broad division, but whatever their pretensions the two major parties are rarely differentiated by a clear-cut dichotomy in political thinking. Their programmes are not exercises in coherent logic. In democratic politics leaders are unable to pursue principles with strict consistency, for they are not and cannot be also academic logicians. A democratic party is never highly unified in mind and personality; it is always composite and subject to composite influences. In both parties the ideas are shaped and reshaped by the inescapable and changing climate of opinion in the society and by the material circumstances no less than by the moral values of the time. Few assumptions and views strongly prevalent in the one party are entirely absent from the other, for they are not insulated against mutual or like influences. When in the late Victorian age liberal ideas worked like yeast in English society, they affected more or less all parties, not exclusively the one with the name Liberal. Today the influence of collectivist ideas is similarly diffused. Parliamentary parties resemble runners in a race: they jealously watch and are guided by each other's progress; they breathe, and are sensitive to, a common air; they contend with like conditions of wind

and weather. "Under a democracy," remarked Ramsay Macdonald, "every Socialist advance tinges with red the opinion of the other parties."[1] The concrete achievements of the one affect the thoughts of its rival. All this is fortunate for representative institutions since the parties are thus never so far apart that it becomes difficult for them to follow each other in office. Changes in the government seldom involve sharp and painful dislocations in policy.

Nevertheless British parties are distinguishable in thought, temper, interest, and composition. Each is affected differently by what Coleridge once called "the lonely walks of uninterested theorists." Each represents a separate alignment of social elements, and endeavours to blend thought in its own way. The Conservative party, for example, has relatively more members who accept society as a delicate organism, deprecate change, venerate the national traditions, emphasize the need for social stability, and cherish empirical procedures. Labour has more members who see a sharp antithesis between the present order and what they seek, exalt a democratic collectivism, emphasize the claims of social equality, and applaud the paper plans for a new society. The Conservative party now finds the core of its support in the middle classes of town and country; Labour the core of its support in the industrial and urban workers. But neither party is strictly homogeneous in composition; each has its own special mixing of social elements.

II

The most obvious feature of political conservatism everywhere is a defence of traditions. The British Conservatives have staunchly upheld ancient institutions, such as the Crown, Church, and parliament, but also significantly the main revolutions in policy achieved by opponents and resisted by themselves over the last hundred years. They accept, for example, what Liberals accomplished before 1914 and most of what Labour achieved after 1945. They will fight valiantly for the radicalism of yesterday. In this matter they have changed little since the last century, when Macaulay claimed that the role of Toryism was "the defence of Whig achievements of the previous generation." They are indeed anxious to demonstrate that their main attitudes derive from the thought of nineteenth-century forbears, Peel and especially Disraeli, and earlier still a great Whig, Edmund Burke. They thus endeavour to cultivate a resilient sense of party continuity. The careers of Peel and Disraeli emphasized for them two simple ideas which were indispensable with

the coming of democracy, the basic idea of Burke that statesmen must reform in order to preserve, and the idea that the security of the party depended upon its wide social composition and national character. Their defence of views formerly associated with opponents is a related fact, imposed by social change and political expediency. They are committed, as one thoughtful modern Conservative put it, to moulding "the latest heresy of the moment in the name of tradition, as tradition has itself been enriched and moulded by all the transient theories of the past."[2]

The idea most consistently emphasized in Conservative thinking is that the nation transcends class or section. More than other parties the Conservative has tried to raise patriotism into a doctrine superior to all others. When contending with Liberalism in the era 1867–1914, it exalted the nation and its traditions rather than the individual and his rights. In this respect it resembles conservatism on the continent, but its nationalism is *sui generis*, marked by special British traits, one of which relates to party politics itself. Since Peel and Disraeli the Conservative emphasis on the nation and patriotism has implied a national party. The most astute and effective leaders have striven to avoid an electoral cleavage on lines of social class; in politics they have sought a vertical rather than horizontal social division. The rationale of their strategy is obvious: the nation embraces all social elements and hence to serve it a party must represent all. But more is involved here than logical coherence. This strategy, as Disraeli perceived, ensures not merely the party's survival, but Britain's unity. It has led Conservative leaders to persuade the owners of property, their natural and reliable allies, to accept policies that will win support among the masses and thus secure for the party a broad social foundation. The execution of the strategy has never been easy and not always successful, but has been pursued continuously.

The Conservatives have viewed the nation as embracing all the people in Britain and formerly all in Ireland. Before 1914 the strict unity of Britain and Ireland was for them a major premise. Consequently they struggled long and hard against recognizing the separatist nationalism of Ireland, whereas many of their Liberal adversaries early accepted this nationalism, and in it saw the case for Irish Home Rule. The failure of the British nation to digest successfully the whole of Ireland was something that Conservatives did not understand and were reluctant to concede. They here shut their eyes to many hard facts because of their strong attachment to the idea of unity in the British Isles. But their

long and absorbing battle against Irish Home Rule (from 1886 to at least 1914) is not to be explained simply by fidelity to a certain concept of the nation. Ideas in politics are mixed up with interests and passions. Before the First World War members of the English aristocracy were a powerful influence within the party, and for evident reasons constituted a spearhead of resistance to Home Rule. Linked by intimate family ties with the landed aristocracy of Ireland (many of the same families possessed great estates in both countries) they saw in Irish political nationalism a threat to the aristocratic order, and were determined to fight it with all the weapons at their command.

In this remarkable and violent episode in the history of British Conservatism there was also involved an inheritance of religious sentiments, fears, and prejudices. The Irish issue aroused latent passions first stirred in the aftermath of the Reformation, for Home Rule implied the political subjection of a Protestant minority to a Roman Catholic majority. When the minority vehemently protested that it wanted to remain under a Protestant parliament at Westminster, its protest naturally raised a grave and contentious issue in British politics. Could a determined minority under such circumstances be coerced? Among Nonconformists, no less than among Anglicans, a vague distrust of Roman Catholicism and its ambitions, real or alleged, was deep, and easily lent itself to political exploitation. When that shrewd strategist, Lord Randolph Churchill, threw himself into the campaign against Gladstone's Home Rule with the remark that "the Orange Card would be the one to play. Please God it may turn out the ace of trumps and not the two," he was not indulging in idle levity. He was weighing the likely response of the British Protestant electorate to an appeal with sectarian undertones. The Battle of the Boyne was an episode in British as well as Irish history, even if commemorated more dramatically in Belfast than in London. The sentiments to which Lord Randolph appealed were those exploited by his successors twenty-five years later, when Kipling could write the strident lines:

> We know the hells declared
> For such as serve not Rome.

These sentiments might be derived from British traditions and beliefs, as Kipling thought, but were very dangerous to play with, as the sombre events, bordering on civil war, between the years 1912–1914 testify.

In their Irish policy the Conservatives before 1922 were engaged mainly in a struggle of resistance to what they viewed as revolutionary

separatism, although they made one bold and positive stroke in their great measure of 1903, which converted Irish tenants into peasant proprietors. In their imperial policies, however, they were keener to innovate and attempt new achievements rather than merely defend the old. For Conservatives the championship of imperialism was a direct outcome of emphasizing the nation and its traditions. The empire meant a natural development of the nation, a cherished part of its heritage, a creation of its political capacity, and a valued bulwark of its power and influence in the world. The empire, wrote Halford Mackinder, a politically minded geographer who moved from the Liberal to the Conservative camp, was "a gift from the encompassing ocean." It resulted from the seapower that Britain out of necessity created and from a mastery of commercial and industrial skills acquired in its evolution.

From 1870 onwards, as serious threats to British power emerged, the imperialist cause generated a missionary spirit, which was not a monopoly of the Conservatives, although it specially characterized the more thoughtful in their party. It even acquired a group of poets, among whom the most blatant was Alfred Austin and the most effective Rudyard Kipling. No writer ever succeeded like Kipling in converting imperialism into a mission and incidentally also into a very profitable theme. In his own lifetime seven million copies of his works sold in Britain and eight million in the United States. Never a mere Conservative pamphleteer, although everything he wrote with political implications backed the Conservative position, he was perhaps unmatched in putting the imperial idea in glamorous and ethical terms. He urged the British to "Show all people their magic and ask no price in return." For him the magic was the art of self-rule and efficient administration. Imperial power, if it was to endure, must be infused with a sense of responsibility for the governed, and the achievements to be valued were not merely those of soldiers but of administrators and technicians. The empire should ensure an order necessary, not merely for British trade, but for human progress, freeing peoples harassed by poverty and victimized by superstition. Kipling's main anxiety, reflected also in many other Conservative minds, was that democracy might relax the nation's self-discipline, dull its sense of duty, and endanger its world position.

The central issue raised by the Conservative imperialists at the turn of the century was that British economic and political security was only possible through the empire. Great territorial states, like the American republic and the German empire, were now outstripping her in population, production, and wealth. Her relative position vis-à-vis these

nations would rapidly decline, unless the empire could be effectively employed to redress the balance. Her own survival as a major power was dependent upon the empire's survival. On this matter the Conservatives naturally felt keener apprehension than the Liberals, except perhaps the Liberal Imperialists. They were less convinced and captivated by the ideas of progress prevalent in the circles nourished on radical politics and Manchester economics, less immersed in the hopes and enthusiasms of the early Victorian liberal tradition, and very much less inclined than Nonconformist Liberals to assume that it was almost sinful to be deeply concerned with the issues of power. Thus incessantly they worried over the question of the nation's material future.

Despite this genuine response to imperial ideas and sentiments, the Conservatives found it extremely difficult, especially after the South African War, to agree on an appropriate imperial policy and the extent to which it should assume precedence over other policies. Their leaders readily marshalled a united front against Irish Home Rule, but struggled in vain to obtain unity on the broader issues of empire. Many vested interests were here involved, and the political risks were heavy. As long as the empire was viewed merely as a problem of world trade, naval power, and strategic territory, agreement was easy. Lord Salisbury, when leader of the party before his retirement in 1902, evidently thought of it in such terms. He had no missionary enthusiasm for the white man's burden, although anxious enough to rescue Africa from the curse of the slave trade; he had slight interest in new lands for investment; and he loathed the South African War, for which his Government was directly responsible. "I detest all soldiering," he confessed. Others in the party, however, were fired by clearer and more grandiose conceptions of what an imperial policy should mean, and of these the most influential and formidable was Joseph Chamberlain. Chamberlain held the office of Colonial Secretary from 1895 to 1903, and by his great energy raised it to major rank. For him and his disciples such a policy implied positive action for the combined economic development of Britain and colonial lands. It implied especially a bold consolidation of all the communities under the Crown on economic and fiscal lines, with preferential tariffs to channel trade increasingly between them and to weld the whole into a more cohesive empire and a real counterpoise to the great imperial states then emerging in the world.

The implementing of this ambitious idea involved profound changes, not least in Britain's policy of free trade. In 1903 Chamberlain launched a campaign for preferential tariffs, or tariff reform, convinced that since

the self-governing colonies now really wanted imperial preferences, the time had come and might never return for Britain to strike; a bold innovation in fiscal policy was imperative. Yet almost immediately bitter internal debates over the issue rent the party. Never perhaps since the days of Peel had a cleavage on policy cut so deep. In politics a clash of ideas is seldom separable from a contest of personalities. Chamberlain was a forcible man of affairs. Beatrice Webb, who saw him at close range, described in her diary his "almost mechanically savage persistence in steaming ahead." He did not come from the governing class; he had fought his way into it, and his methods of fighting were not always thought to be those of a gentleman. The vigour and militancy of a former screw manufacturer and Radical from Birmingham made Conservative squires feel uneasy. Great families, like the Cecils and the Stanleys, threw their influence against tariff reform as a policy perilous to Conservative prospects. It could never, they asserted, win popular support, and fighting for it jeopardized other cherished interests, such as the unity of the United Kingdom. The Stanleys, notably Lord Derby, exercised their main sway in the constituencies of Lancashire, where a devotion to free imports of food still retained an evangelical quality. For such Conservatives, as for the Liberals, free trade had become a sacred British institution, backed by economic laws and electoral facts, and in its defence they marshalled all the forces available.[3] To their aid came a group of academic economists, with a collective and solemn statement in *The Times*, likened to a papal encyclical, pronouncing on the ills that would befall Britain if it departed from free trade. Significantly it was the economic theorists, not the economic historians, who were principally hostile to the new proposals.[4]

Many of the younger and bolder men in the party promptly aligned themselves with Chamberlain. In tariff reform they found an exhilarating cause, and one strictly within the frame of Conservative thinking, since it promised to advance the prestige and protect the traditions of the nation. Arthur Balfour as leader (1902–11), although in evident sympathy with Chamberlain's view, tried in the interests of unity to steer a middle course. Despite his sly manoeuvres and verbal dialectic, he could not achieve a genuine reconciliation, and other contemporary difficulties hampered his efforts. Conservative defeats in 1906 and in the next two elections, coupled with continued disagreements within the party, forced him to resign the leadership. His successor, Bonar Law, likewise failed to unite the party on tariff reform, which he himself enthusiastically favoured, but for party unity had to shelve.

After the First World War the debate within Conservative counsels on the fiscal issue was renewed. The introduction of tariff duties, especially in 1921 to safeguard certain key industries essential for defence, encouraged the protectionists, but the main issue of a full-fledged protective system continued to be under almost incessant discussion. In the twenties Stanley Baldwin once jocularly remarked that more than half the time of his cabinet was consumed by Churchill's speeches and Amery's rejoinders. During this contentious exchange the issue was imperial fiscal policy. Yet even the unremitting zeal of an Amery could not persuade his party to accept a vigorous economic policy for the empire on the lines envisaged by the Chamberlain school. Nor could the Conservative press barons achieve much more, despite the furious vigour with which Lord Beaverbrook took up his evangel of Empire Free Trade. The rude shock of depression in the early thirties alone opened the way to action. In 1932 Joseph Chamberlain's youngest son, Neville, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, ended the long era of free trade by introducing genuine protection, and the preferential agreements at Ottawa followed in the same year. Although these were formally the achievements of a National Government presided over by Ramsay Macdonald, it was the Conservative wing which had pressed for and secured the return of protective and preferential tariffs. Thus in a sense the prolonged struggle within the party for three decades had brought final victory to the tariff reformers, but victory then meant much less than it would have meant in 1903. In the interval the world had profoundly changed.

III

The issue of tariff reform and protection illustrates how real may be a party's debate on policy and how hard the struggle to win internal agreement. Another and larger issue than that of imperial policy and even more revealing about the battle of ideas in the Conservative party is the basic question confronting every democratic state in the twentieth century: how much collectivism should be pursued within the national economy, to what ends, and by what means?

By 1900 the Conservative party was committed to democracy however acute the fears among some of its members. Hence it was compelled to consider positive action by government to enlarge the welfare of the masses, since the twin facts of a popular suffrage and an industrial society implied collectivism. But on this question the debates within the

party were often as long and contentious as those on imperialism. Sometimes the battle lines were actually the same. Campaigners for imperial consolidation, like Joseph Chamberlain and L. S. Amery, were hardly less keen for welfare policies; they did not shrink from the state's intervention to raise the standards of life among the masses: they demanded it. Yet certain powerful Conservative interests, especially the great landowners, stubbornly resisted the intrusion of any collectivist ideas. The Edwardian aristocracy retained large mansions, noble demesnes, abundant servants, and opulent modes of life. Its members, linked with magnates of finance and industry, feared policies which involved heavier taxation of great properties and threatened the old framework of social power. For them a Conservatism which failed to resist inroads on accumulated wealth did not make sense. Their attitudes naturally hampered those members of the party who were determined to cope with the problems of an industrial society by measures no less advanced than those of their Liberal opponents. Thus, while the Conservatives were still in office, the die-hard element fought and destroyed an attempt to carry a trade union bill designed to protect unions from the legal difficulties threatened by the Taff Vale Judgment, and this despite the fact that it had been a Conservative government in the seventies which gave the unions their legal status.[5] Similarly they blocked an extension of the law providing for the compensation of workers in industrial accidents, which originally the Conservatives themselves had enacted in 1897. The success of the die-hards irritated the unions, strengthened their resolve to enter politics, and deepened their distrust of the Conservatives. In later years Stanley Baldwin frequently complained that at the beginning of the century his party had committed needless and fatal blunders in strategy: they had alienated much potential support among the workers, made Conservatism appear as the enemy of labour, and thereby inflamed class antagonisms.[6] One major welfare measure the Conservatives did carry: the Education Act of 1902. But its provision for state aid to Church schools enraged the Nonconformists, who infused fresh life into the Liberal party, and worked vigorously to effect the decisive Conservative defeat of 1906.

The First World War was a watershed in party politics, as in much else. Bonar Law, with no little insight, wrote to Balfour in 1918: "Our Party on the old lines will never have any future in this country." After 1918 the features of the social landscape were certainly different. The war changed moods no less than facts. It brought a vast extension in the franchise, shook profoundly former party alignments, and transformed

old attitudes on the appropriate role of the state or created economic conditions that were destined soon to change them. In the twenties and thirties material facts had a telling effect on political thinking. No politician could ignore the prolonged plight of the British economy, with its lost markets, diminished capital for export, reduced hold on the world's shipping, idle coal pits, and an army of unemployed which throughout the period remained remorselessly large. In addition to such harsh circumstances, Conservatives were facing a sharp challenge from the Labour party, invigorated by its own reorganization in 1918 and aided by the disintegration within the Liberal camp. They were compelled to manoeuvre in order to occupy some common ground with Labour opponents. Increasingly they were forced to recognize that a larger sector of economic life was now a public and not a private concern, that transfers of income through the state were inescapable, and that the party must accept an infusion of much collectivist thinking.

It was characteristic of the Conservatives not to register this changing outlook in any formal or emphatic way. Their leader traditionally determined policy, and had a generous discretion as to what he should say about it. Members in the ranks, including those in the research department of the Central Office, might issue pamphlets and publish books, as many did in the twenties and thirties, but only the leader made pronouncements that committed the party. Some comment on the leaders and their ideas is relevant.

Stanley Baldwin, who for fourteen of the inter-war years led the Conservatives, was neither bold nor dramatic; he was a man of expedients and tactics, often impulsively and intuitively devised. Nowhere did he attempt to discuss explicitly the general issues of the time in the light of consistent Conservative principles. He would have excused himself for this by asserting that the Conservative party embraced a wide variety of interests and opinions and patiently stood for their reconciliation. On a given public question the leader must reflect the composite thought of the party's adherents. This attitude irritated many of his followers, who sought a more positive interpretation of Conservative ideas and a strategy in harmony with it. For them Baldwin's policy of "Safety First" implied a dangerous tendency to drift on the stream of events and evade clear planning.

Yet Baldwin was less negative than critics alleged. Sir Winston Churchill, although often a harsh critic of Baldwin's leadership, in retrospect pronounced him "the greatest party manager the Conservatives ever had." A key to his managerial triumphs was his grasp of the

Disraelian idea that the Conservative party was composite and national. This idea governed his major policies, no doubt because it well harmonized with his own temper. It explains his conciliatory attitude towards labour and his genuine sympathy with many of labour's ambitions. He was truly anxious to make the Conservative party an agent in moderating class passions and resolving class antagonisms. He came honestly by his desire for industrial and social peace, for he belonged to that group of Midland ironmasters who accepted as a matter of course a friendly relationship with their employees as sound business, sound religion, and sound sense. "He was essentially a humanist," wrote his colleague and often his impatient critic, L. S. Amery, "who found himself in a position where he believed that the qualities implied in that word mattered most in an age of crude ideologies and of fierce class strife."[7] He contributed few positive ideas for incorporation into statutes, but by his conciliatory temper and attitudes he influenced the public emotions of Conservatism. He fostered a spirit of reasonableness and forbearance, which subdued the wild men of the Right.

Baldwin's successor as leader, Neville Chamberlain, was another businessman, but cast in a different mould. He was more a man of action, energetic, resourceful and effective, although less skilful in political appeal. It is difficult to detect in his utterances what meaning he attached to the concept of Conservatism, or indeed whether he gave the matter the slightest thought. He was a characteristic British politician in rarely pausing to consider the theoretical premise of his actions. He severely confined his remarks, and presumably his thinking, to the immediate issue at hand. In coping with a concrete problem, he was fascinated more by the necessities of administration than by the implications of theory. But like his father he was a practical reformer, concerned with enlarging the amenities of life for members of the nation, and what he accomplished in the national sphere was simply a wider extension of work begun and pursued as a town planner in Birmingham. Under Baldwin he tackled an acute housing problem with new audacity and impressive results, brought some discernible order into the maze of local government, and enlarged the structure of social insurance. Later as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the National Government he reintroduced protection combined with imperial preferences.

In all this we have the empirical collectivist, going patiently from one problem to another and guided by very few and very simple convictions. State action was justified in furthering welfare services, provided that individuals were not discouraged from helping themselves.

It was justified also in subsidizing certain private enterprises, such as house-building, which were likely to diffuse benefits to a wide public. In thus forging links between private enterprise and the public treasury Chamberlain advanced beyond the views of his predecessors before 1914. The earlier leaders were usually disposed to think that their primary task was to strengthen the defences of a threatened status quo, whether in the union with Ireland, the established Church in Wales, the Victorian modes of commerce and industry, or the traditional methods of public finance. Neville Chamberlain still impatiently encountered Conservatives with this older outlook, and among them his half-brother Austen. "He thinks me wild," he remarked in a family letter, "and I think him unprogressive and prejudiced."[8] Scornful of what he described as "the strange dream life that goes on" in the Tory aristocracy and the clubmen of Mayfair, he was evidently less interested in the Conservative party as such than in an opportunity to combine with others in doing the things that he wanted to do. In a revealing letter, after the victory of the Coalition in 1931, he remarked: "I hope that we may presently develop into a National Party, and get rid of that odious title of Conservative, which has kept so many from joining us in the past."[9]

In his policies Neville Chamberlain did something to change Conservative thinking on the relations of the government and the economy. He might perhaps, in assuming the reins of leadership from Baldwin, have gone further on the road to an empirical collectivism, but the mounting tensions and perils in Europe with the rise of Hitler diverted him from domestic to foreign issues, where unfortunately his lack of grasp and perception was pronounced. There was no pose in his pathetic confession when the storm of the Second World War broke: "Everything that I have believed in during my public life has crashed into ruins."

Outside the official leadership in the inter-war years, especially in the thirties, were younger Conservatives critical of what was then accepted as economic orthodoxy, and restless to effect a more vigorous control of the economy by the state. They championed a form of national economic planning to rival the socialist planning of the Labour party. They took to heart the dictum of Keynes in 1925 that "half the copybook wisdom of our statesmen is based on assumptions which were at one time true, or partly true, but are now less and less true. . . . We have to invent new wisdom for a new age." This group was cynically nick-

named in the twenties the Y.M.C.A. (prominent members were Robert Boothby, Oliver Stanley, and Harold Macmillan). They advocated credit control, marketing schemes, wage boards, social services, and industrial changes that would give to labour a voice in the management of industry. Unlike the theorists of Labour they were concerned with measures needed to make a mixed economy efficient rather than with the goals of social equality, achieved through public ownership. They had no interest in liquidating the private entrepreneur; they insisted that the state should provide him with abundant scope for enterprise and assistance when clearly necessary, but that it should prescribe rules which he must respect. Protective tariffs they viewed as only one of many modes of economic control, to be applied with appropriate reference to others. Their boldest and most constructive ideas, clearly related to those of Keynes, concerned the public direction of credit and investment. With the onset of depression in the early thirties they became more emphatic in advocating generous credit to make possible slum clearance and industrial modernization. The principal targets of their candid criticism were now the Bank of England and the Treasury because of the iron determination with which these venerable institutions clung to antiquated notions on public credit. In 1932 one of their number in the Commons sharply attacked the restrictive policy of the Bank in the preceding decade as consistently wrong and industrially disastrous. Mr. Montague Norman, he remarked, "is never called upon to explain or justify or defend his policy; and it is his policy which has been carried out for the last ten years. Governments may come and Governments may go, but the Governor of the Bank of England goes on forever. It is a classic example of power without responsibility."[10]

The Conservative left wing in the thirties was inevitably out of harmony with the main body of the party, which still anxiously deprecated bold measures of state action as a dangerous surrender to socialism. The leaders sought to strike a balance between the conflicting views of right and left. But they commonly shrank from a drastic treatment of vested interests for the evident enough reason that most of these sought a congenial home in the Conservative party. Nevertheless in the inter-war years Conservative ministers hammered their compromises into a series of statutes which gradually enlarged the range of state activity, and, apart from welfare policies, resulted in the emergence of public corporations, such as the Central Electricity Board in 1926, the British Broadcasting Corporation in 1928, the London Passenger Trans-

port Board in 1933, and the British Overseas Airways Corporation in 1939.[11] Here at least was a prologue to the nationalization projects of Labour in 1945–50.

The Second World War, like the First, had a profound effect on British parties, and not the least of these effects on the Conservative was to pave the way for a readier acceptance of collectivist thinking and collectivist measures. Many of the old economic landmarks of the past were washed away, as the state in the interests of national survival directed or even managed the vital parts of the economy. Plans for a reformed society after the war were formulated under the auspices of the Coalition Government, and, while some Conservatives were doubtful and lukewarm about these plans, the leaders in general believed that they were required by the public emotions and necessities of the time. A stream of reports came from committees on town planning, the utilizing of land in rural areas, housing projects, social security as prescribed in the *Beveridge Report*, and educational reconstruction. A major measure was the Education Act of 1944, providing for an extensive overhauling of the educational structure, which was piloted through the House of Commons by a Conservative minister, R. A. Butler. Even more far-ranging was the White Paper issued in the same year on employment policy. It committed the Coalition Government, with the assent of all parties, to "accept as one of their primary aims and responsibilities the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment after the war." All this debate and action in terms of state policy could hardly avoid having a deep influence on Conservative thinking, and the shock of the party's electoral defeat in July 1945 further reinforced the necessity for a reformulation of policies and objectives.

The younger corps of Conservative leaders took up the cudgels for reform, and indulged in more enthusiastic programme-making than their party had ever attempted in history. In a spate of pamphlets they rivalled in literary energy their Labour opponents.[12] All this reflected a moderate type of reforming idealism, not unlike that in the right wing of the Labour party. The historical approach to politics, hitherto so characteristic of British Conservatism, had become diluted by an emphasis on the binding necessity for social change.

IV

Two related elements are present in this recent and abundant discussion of Conservative attitudes and policies: first, a very conscious

response in the party to new currents of opinion in the electorate; and, secondly, an effort to give a special direction to these currents. There is evident some analogy to Disraeli's course of action on the franchise issue of the last century: Labour must not be left to reap all the advantages of being the main vehicle of reform. Change in modern society is taken to be an inevitable product of technology, and the Conservatives must try to make the best possible bargain with the inevitable. Here is expediency and also empiricism. Little survives of the old rigid traditionalism, so basic in early nineteenth-century Conservatism and shaped by the society of the English countryside, where for generations tradition was dominant and precedent sacred.

The older faith in tradition has yielded to the forces of industrialism and democracy, and modern Conservatives are engaged in covering the retreat. In the late nineteenth century their task was to extract from the then opposing creed of liberalism certain democratic ideas, and fuse them into the Conservative tradition. Today their task is to extract from the creed of Labour certain collectivist ideas, and give them a fresh and more telling appeal. Not least interesting at the same time is their attempt to distinguish between the goals of Labour and their own. They insist that for them social services are a means, not of levelling up or down, but of securing an opportunity for individuals specially handicapped. They are concerned with an ideal, not of equality but of opportunity, not of an average standard of living secured by the state, but of a minimum. Words can be too facile in defining distinctions of this kind. It is vastly more difficult to achieve real differences in the actual working out of policy, especially where a host of modifying influences have usually to be respected. But the very attempt of Conservatives to recognize and clarify such differences adds some reality to the contemporary political debate.

The main criterion in the Conservative selection and discarding of Liberal ideas in the past and Labour ideas in the present is their tested utility for men living in the environment of Britain. In this respect Conservatism is simply a political phase of British empiricism. It is somewhat difficult to formulate in strictly consistent terms because it is actually grounded in a distrust of abstract ideas. It is neither for nor against "individual liberty," for nor against "state collectivism," but accepts them or rejects them according to the circumstances of the situation. We may conclude that it still firmly takes its stand on Burke's position: "I cannot . . . give praise or blame to anything which relates to human actions, and human concerns, on a simple view of the object

as it stands stripped of every relation, in all the nakedness and solitude of metaphysical abstraction. Circumstances . . . give in reality to every political principle its distinguishing colour and discriminating effect. The circumstances are what render every civil and political scheme beneficial or noxious to mankind."[13]

NOTES

1 J. Ramsay Macdonald, *The Socialist Movement* (London, 1911), 110.

2 Quintin Hogg, *The Case for Conservatism* (Penguin), 14.

3 The debate within the party is discussed by L. S. Amery, *My Political Life*, I, chapter IX.

4 Three leading economic historians of the time supported tariff reform: William Cunningham, W. A. S. Hewins, and W. J. Ashley.

5 In 1901 the House of Lords, acting as the final appeal court in England, decided in the Taff Vale Railway case that a trade union was liable for damages for wrongs done by its agents.

6 G. M. Young, *Stanley Baldwin*, 31–2.

7 L. S. Amery, *My Political Life*, III, 224. For the same reason Baldwin won the plaudits of many outside the party, including the socialist Harold Laski, who in 1930 wrote to him that "the spirit you represent has made the peaceful evolution of English politics much more certain than it would otherwise have been."

8 Keith Feiling, *Life of Neville Chamberlain* (1946), 84.

9 *Ibid.*, 197.

10 Robert Boothby, *I Fight to Live* (London, 1947), 103.

11 The bill providing for the London Passenger Transport Board originated with a Labour Government, but after the defeat of Labour in 1931 was ultimately piloted through the House of Commons by a Conservative minister in the National Coalition Government.

12 One of the most significant of these documents was the *Industrial Charter* (1947), which called for a "strong central guidance of the economy." While officially accepted by the Conservatives, it aroused mixed feelings in some. To the *Daily Express* it was simply "another version of the old planned economy of the Socialists."

13 Quoted in R. J. White (ed.), *The Conservative Tradition* (London, 1950), 35.

The Dawn in Britain after Fifty Years

Barker Fairley

We sometimes see it stated baldly in cyclopaedias and histories of literature that Charles M. Doughty "also wrote a number of epic poems." This, if true, would be a good reason for not reading him, since, to go by what sure knowledge we have, no poet can write a number of epic poems, epics in the plural, and succeed. He may succeed in writing a single epic and this is what Doughty did. Having published it in his early sixties, he wrote five other shorter poems, three of them in dramatic or semi-dramatic form, two of them in narrative. These are not epics in the English sense of the word, which, according to the Oxford Dictionary, signifies that kind of narrative poetry which celebrates the achievements of some heroic personage of history or tradition. Doughty's epic poem is *The Dawn in Britain*, which was put out by Duckworth on Edward Garnett's advice fifty years ago, in 1906–7, in six volumes and twenty-four books, four books to a volume. Each of the twenty-four books is in from twelve to fifteen hundred lines, not too many to be read aloud in an evening, which is how the poem should be read. It was reissued by Jonathan Cape in 1943 in one volume.

Coleridge said somewhere that the only subject now remaining for an epic poem was the destruction of Jerusalem. *The Dawn in Britain* complies with this, or partly complies, by making the destruction of Jerusalem its historical terminus. In Book 24, the concluding book, we read:

> And now Vespasian, (who ere warred in Britain)
> Ruling the hundred nations of proud Rome:
> The Holy City is compassed-in of armies,
> Leading them Titus—

simple words, but rich in connotation, because the poem has shown us the Holy City, and shown us Vespasian and Titus too, and we know

them. For Jerusalem it is enough to remember Shalum the Gileadite, who afterwards sailed to Britain, going there for the Passover as a young man in Book 7:

> Came the young Gileadite unto, Daughter-of-Zion!
> Thy strong walls of Salvation, and high towers,
> Those tried foundations, pleasant goodly stones,
> (The City of Praise;) and he, from brook, upmounted,
> Of Kidron; enters in the Holy Place,
> By the gate Beautiful.

Concerning Vespasian, in whose reign this goodly Jerusalem was destroyed, we hardly needed the poet's reminder that he fought in the Roman war in Britain. We saw him there many times, and once memorably, but this was before the army of invasion crossed the Channel. Legions, three of them, the fourteenth, ninth, and twentieth, "chosen in Rome, for the Britannic war," and stationed on the coast of Gaul under Aulus Plautius waiting to go over in the spring, became disaffected at the thought of another sea to cross and revolted, driving out Aulus and his staff, who escaped eastwards to seek refuge with Vespasian. Vespasian, who at the time was holding the German frontier with his *pia* legion, at once rode over with a wing of Gaulish horse to view the revolt, whereupon the mutineers changed their tune, saying they would go anywhere with him. But he rebuked them and would not compromise:

> But when that renowned captain seen approach;
> All hail him, those tumultuous legionaries:
> Men call him, Father! They, now, deformed routs;
> Do throng on him, an headless multitude.
> Hunger their ears, to hear his martial voice.
> All pray him, enter, in their desolate *castra*.
> But, shaking forth his purple, he denies;
> That Roman duke, which Caesar and the Senate,
> Serves, with their fury, would be maculate.
> On their heads, be the crime of this revolt.
> And choose they, whether they, which once were soldiers,
> Will, here, in border of their enemies,
> Most warlike nations, with the legion *pia*,
> Contend, when this, the third day, shall arrive;
> Or else revert to their obedience!
> Which heard, they swarm the more, about his horse,
> And humbly entreat great Flavius, lead them forth;
> And were it, to new war, beyond the world!

He, blaming them, persuades, they sue to Aulus,
Imperial legate; that, for them, to Caesar,
He intercede. The punishment, is, of soldiers;
Soldiers, which make sedition, in the field,
That each tenth man, by lot, should suffer death!
There brake great Flavius off; and turned the duke,
With austere looks, from them, his horse. In troops,
They follow him; but rode Vespasian, forth.

When he came back three days later with the *pia* legion, the revolt was over. Vespasian's forces were then joined to those of Aulus Plautius, for the campaign in Britain.

This was in Book 12. In the next four books, Books 13–16, the British were defeated in two major encounters, one on the Thames, one at Camulodunum, which is Colchester, after which the Romans were in control and could relax. One winter Vespasian quartered his troops at Aquae Sulis, which is Bath, and when the spring came sent his sick up into the Mendip hills to recuperate. Titus, his son, who was with him and had seen some action, went too and enjoyed himself, boar-hunting in the rough country and beaver-hunting in the swamps; and, hearing of an unusual community not far off, a sanctuary for outlaws, fugitives, and others, he visited it. In the course of the visit, which was otherwise uneventful, an old woman pointed her finger at him and said words he did not understand. We know her story from earlier in the poem. Her name was Keina, and she was once young and beautiful and became the mother of sons. But as the poem says:

when each one nighed his manly age,
A pining sickness took him, and increased,
In all his limbs,

so that within the year he died. When the last son went, she lost her reason and lived afterwards in the sanctuary. It was she who pointed her finger at Titus:

Looked Keina, longwhile, on that knight of Rome!
Sith, stretched her lean palm forth, in Britons' tongue,
Spake with loud voice; and all, on Titus, gaze!
Titus requires, What thing the Sibyl saith?
The interpreter whispered, in young Titus' ears,
Thou, after days, she saith, shalt rule o'er Rome!
And Titus changed his colour, and shook out
His garments; and made haste, to get him forth.

It is in ways like these that the names of Vespasian and Titus, sounding at the close with the fall of Jerusalem, become more than names

and carry the mind back to salient moments in the story. This carrying the mind back is part of the poem's habit and begins early, but it gathers weight as the narrative proceeds and achieves its most telling effects in the late stages. A signal illustration of this is the death—also in Book 24—of Caratacus or Caradoc, the British leader in defeat and the chief figure in the poem. The last time we saw him was when he was betrayed and captured at the end of the campaign, taken to Rome and paraded there, and then pardoned by the emperor Claudius. We learn now before the poem closes that Caradoc settled as an exile on the Adriatic coast at Senogallia. This was a good idea on Doughty's part, because Senogallia, as we saw in Book 4, was a city founded centuries earlier by the Senones Gauls under their leader Brennus, who was then at the height of his power, having recently sacked Rome and being soon to meet his death in the high Alps on his way north. In *The Dawn in Britain* Brennus appears as Caradoc's great British predecessor in the tide of history which first swept down into the Mediterranean countries, Spain, Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, in the Gallic invasions and then swept more powerfully back with the spreading of Roman rule. Thus in the architecture of the poem Senogallia and its associations serve to link the last days of Caradoc with an earlier climax, the first climax in the poem, and with his country's heroic past.

A lesser man than Doughty might have thought of this. But there is more. Caradoc spent his last years at Senogallia, but he did not die there. He died in Rome and died there on a notable day, the day when civil war raged in the city between the two parties of Vespasian and Vitellius, in which Sabine, prefect of the city and brother of Vespasian, was killed. Caradoc saw Sabine's body carried past and the sight of it took him back thirty years to an incident at the beginning of the Roman war in Britain. At that time his brother Togodumnos was in command; it was the first pitched battle; Sabine fought in it. Togodumnos wounded him and unhorsed him and would have despatched him outright, if Sabine's helmet had not fallen off and exposed his face. Recognizing a former friend, and possibly remembering his Homer, Togodumnos spared him and so Sabine lived on to be assassinated at home. As luck would have it, it was Togodumnos who died, pierced in the back of the neck by a traitor's arrow later in the battle. He left orders with his dying breath that he was to be buried where he fell and in the stress of the conflict there was nothing else to do. So they blazed trees and counted paces to mark the exact spot and then marched troops over it so as to conceal it from enemies, always intending to return in better days and bury him properly.

Sabine's death in Rome brings all this back from the distant past and sets Caradoc dreaming of the state funeral that he still hopes against hope to return to Britain and hold in his brother's honour. But he is aged now and here appropriately is where his old heart stops. If, in Doughty's management of the poem, the mention of Senogallia connects this moment with the end of the Brennus story, Sabine connects it with the beginning of Caradoc's. It was when Togodumnos fell that Caradoc took over the supreme command.

Here, more conspicuously than in the case of the fall of Jerusalem, we see the poet's mind ranging up and down the long narrative and structurally knitting the parts into one. We cannot say of a poem so little read as this that any opinion is current about it. But it has been stated more than once, and it has gone insufficiently contradicted, that Doughty had no control over his material, that he couldn't organize it. No poet, lacking the power to organize his material, could have created the death of Caradoc as we have it here. Only constructive power of a very high order could have devised and executed it. And what is true of this episode is true of the whole poem, as could be shown at greater length with the same clarity.

The death of Caradoc is not the final episode. It is followed by the death of Joseph. This is the Joseph of Arimathea who buried Jesus in his Jerusalem garden and then, according to a tradition which Doughty accepted, went to Britain, taking Christianity with him. In Doughty's story Joseph and his companions on landing in Britain were put for safety in the sanctuary which Titus visited later, and there they stayed and settled down. The sanctuary was called Avalon or Alban. When Joseph heard that Jerusalem was destroyed he wished for death and prayed that he might go back there and be buried in the cave where he buried Jesus, but the prayer was not granted:

> When now, in Avalon, Joseph understood,
> How broken-down was the most holy place;
> And made Jews daily sacrifice to cease;
> (Which things he heard foresay the Master Christ,)
> He lifts, each hour, towards heaven his yearning looks!
> But the same night, God's Spirit revealed to Joseph,
> How is the end not yet: the days approach,
> Wherein he should be gathered to his rest.
>
> Then thrice, with tears, His saint the Lord besought;
> To Daughter, now, of Sion, ah, burned and wasted,
> He might return; and in the desolate cave,
> Wherein the Lord of Life he shrouded laid,
> Whence Christ arose, that might he lie, deceased.

> But spake God's Spirit; The ransom-blood of Christ,
> Hath, as one altar, hallowed the whole Earth!

So Joseph stays and dies where he is, but not before he has first taken the "cup of blessing" from the Last Supper that he had brought with him and dropped it in the Avalon lake where no one would ever find it:

> Unto all, even to this day, unknown the place.

By putting the death of Joseph last Doughty might seem to be suggesting that this was morally a Christian poem. And the title, *The Dawn in Britain*, might seem to suggest it too, since the dawn is certainly the Christian dawn and Christianity is presented throughout as the actively spiritualizing force in the beginning of English life. But the truth is less simple than this, and more interesting.

Towards the close of the poem—again in Book 24—the British poet Cuan, the first British poet to be converted to Christianity, travels from place to place in the still unconquered parts of Britain, singing his Christian songs and teaching the new faith. At the court of Moelmabon, king of the Silures, who has lost four of his sons in the war and is about to die before losing his fifth, Cuan, the Christian bard, contends in song with the royal bard, Talaith. Talaith's song is a Celtic or supposedly Celtic version of the wars of gods and giants; Cuan's song is of Christ's descent into hell and his resurrection. Talaith comes first. The giants, according to him, broke out from underneath the mountains where "great Dagda, father of the gods,/ Had bound them," stole the twelve winds of heaven and the lightning and the rain, and put the careless-dwelling gods to shameful flight. The goddesses had to run for their lives and barely escaped capture. To slow down the pursuing giants they threw their jewels and trinkets behind them as they ran:

> They, to 'scape immane giants, which them pursued,
> Erst gem-stones cast, to them, from their bright necks;
> They cast then, from their heavenly brows, clear frets,
> As stars, of pearls; sith chains and bracelets.
> In that they uprose, forth, in swift-teamed cloud-chariots!
> Fell scattered, on wide bosom of the mould,
> Sheen, diverse hewed, their divine ornaments.

The gods soon avenged themselves and chained the giants to the rocks, but the valley of the world was ruined and the gods retreated to a mountain-top and lived there for a long age. Desirous again of inhabiting the earth, they finally sent the goddess of Spring, their messenger, to inspect it for them, and she went with a will:

Joyous, on her bright wings, that heavenly maid
Leapt forth. She stooped, soon, from her aery voyage,
Runs-on, like partridge, in earth's green hill-sides.

But what does she find? She finds flowers. There had not been flowers before, and she is overjoyed at the sight of them:

How all, with blissful hews, unfold their heads!
More than in changeful gorget of the dove.
Her-seem these tottering clusters, in smooth wind;
(And whereon wild bees light, from the sunbeams,)
Some silent wonderous music of the field!

She does not know how they came there, but she suspects the stars did it, or some celestial influence. She learns the truth later; the flowers she sees are what sprang up in the ground where the goddesses spilled their jewels. But she immediately knows what to do. She fills her lap with flowers and decks herself from head to foot, with daisies and violets and hawthorn and honeysuckle, with a truly Botticellian delight and, so arrayed, makes her way back to the gods and tells them what she has seen:

And she to them, in order, all rehearsed;
How, as bride bed bedeckt with needle-work,
Lies the whole earth! and all admire the gods!
That smell her raiment, and behold those flowers.

They returned to earth at once and the gods walked hand in hand with the goddesses, and the goddesses, all wearing their blossom, had never seemed so fair to them before.

When Talaith has finished Cuan takes over and tells of the descent into hell and the rising from the dead. Jesus goes down

by the steep rocks, beneath the earth;
To a land of shadow,

where the souls of all the dead sleep, waiting for the Judgment Day:

The Sun, amongst them went, of Righteousness;
(So now Christ shines!) And spake, to all those souls,
Each comfortably the Lord's voice; and was
As on dry herb, when dew of morning falls:
And was there whisper, as of forest leaves.
Christ, upon each one, as He goeth-by, breathes;
And those, of Everlasting Life, His Spirit
Receive. He bade those souls, yet patient rest;
Till last resounding trump split the tombed earth.
Not one of them, in that hour, should be lost!

He returns now to his garden-tomb; angels sing at the cave:

> All suddenly then, the gracious Lord Arose!

Doughty says that the two poets contend in song, but it proves to be less a contest than a partnership. The two, we find, unite in singing:

> As bird, which sings with bird, in Summer-grove.

Cuan says to Talaith, not that he has come to displace him, but that they are brothers:

> Thou art, Master of song, Talaith,
> Not far from us. As flowrets, towards the Sun
> Draw we nigh, also, to the Living God!

This, then, is how the poem ends, with the old paganism enduring and, it would almost seem, absorbing the Christian myth and message. Those, at least, are remarkable words of Cuan's in which he uses the image of the druid—"Christ, our druid"—and the image of the mistletoe—the "misselden"—to convey his Christian thought:

> Sings Cuan,
> That golden Branch, which berries bears, as pearls,
> With healing leaves, the very misselden,
> Which found, these last days, is, in forest-world!
> Even Christ, our druid; which grafféd, in our souls,
> Though die our flesh, shall they not taste of death.

When Cuan leaves Moelmabon's court where he had sung with Talaith, he crosses to Ireland to visit king Duneda who formerly ruled in Isca, which is Exeter, and harboured the Christian refugees at Avalon, but was driven out by the coming of the Romans. While king Duneda "blames in heart his nation's gods" and likes the sound of Cuan's harp, when we last see the two together—and the poem is all but over—he is putting Cuan, the Christian poet, through the old pagan riddles and Cuan has learned the answers: the sword and the shield, wage of the bright gold, and all-devouring flame:

> Which, soon as born, is stronger than the gods;
> And earth and heaven fills with his violence.

If it is thought that Rome is getting less than its due in this affair, we have only to move back to the two preceding books and read the marriage of Pudens to see that Rome has already had its due. The marriage of Pudens is the last long episode in the main action, after which the items we have been considering are more briefly handled.

The episode is carried out elaborately in some fifteen hundred lines—the equivalent, roughly, of one book out of the twenty-four—and it is here for the first time that the poem begins to move in regions of sentiment—pastoral and idyllic chiefly—that we feel to be characteristic of English life, as the poets have shown it from that time more or less continuously till today. In other words, while Caradoc with all his burden of reflectiveness remains an ancient Briton, Pudens is, by association, an Englishman, the first Englishman presumably, since in this poem there cannot have been one before. It does not seem to matter that he is also a Roman.

Pudens' father, Auleius Verus (Pudens is also called Auleius), preferring the country to the city, lived in a villa in Mendip, and Pudens after being badly wounded in the fighting at Mona, which is Anglesey, went back to Mendip to recover. Avalon was not far away and during his convalescence he went there, as Titus did before him. But he stayed longer, fell in love with a British girl, Rosmerta, afterwards called Claudia (this is the Pudens and Claudia of the Second Epistle to Timothy) adopted her Christian faith, and married her, not without the inner struggle that we might expect from a noble Roman in the circumstances.

If Pudens, the Roman, is the first Englishman, his is the first English wedding. He has to wait for the appointed day through a long winter in the Mendip hills, but spring comes at last:

> Sweet Spring, new-born is on the sun-wooed earth.
> Each eve, in Mendip, watcheth Roman Auleius,
> For the new moon. O joy, at length, when he
> Sees, three days old, her sickle slender face!
> Soon to go down.

Joseph marries them and they all drink from the cup that he had brought with him from Palestine—the cup he afterwards sank in the lake, lest there should be any nonsense with it. His Syrian brethren are there, those that are still alive, and Shalum the Gileadite, an old man now, recalls the marriage in Cana of Galilee, at which he was a guest. And there is feasting and dancing and village sports. And Cuan is there too, to celebrate the day:

> Love is, he sings, the livery of Christ!

It is all very English and all very Christian and all very peaceful, especially against the background of the savage fighting that is now nearly over. But what day is it? It is the day, Doughty is careful to tell us,

that is a double holiday in the Roman calendar, the birthday of the city of Rome and the *Palilia*, the feast-day of the Roman shepherds:

> Day also, of mirth, for the *Palilia*, it is,
> (Rome's lambing-feast,) even in this far-off Province;
> Being birth-night of the city of Romulus:
> When jolive herdgrooms, in all Latin field,
> Sprinkled their ruckling folds; when erst, in heaven,
> Is day-star seen, with well-spring water pure,
> Dance on the green. Sith they, with sulphur smoke,
> Do purge their stalls; and hang, on all the posts,
> To Pales, god, wreathed rosemary and meadow herbs,
> And laurer bough; and offer honey-cakes,
> Baked on their rustic hearths. Kindled then fires,
> Of the old stover heaped; when they, with milk,
> Them quench, to sound of cymbals and shrill flutes;
> Their flocks they chace, with merry dancing foot,
> And shouts, through the thick reek.

With this brief analysis before us, the question arises where the poem belongs and when it was conceived and written. The date of publication is not enough. It led John Middleton Murry, at a time when we knew even less about the author than we do now, into arguing that the Doughty who wrote the two prose volumes of *Travels in Arabia Deserta* was a young man, the Doughty who wrote *The Dawn in Britain* an old one. We know now that it was otherwise. Doughty said himself that the epic poem was in his mind as early as the year 1865, when he was twenty-two and still at Cambridge, and had never left it since. Moreover it seems quite certain that all his studies and travels from that time forward were directed to this one end. If he sojourned for years in the Mediterranean countries it was not solely for reasons of health, but also because he was getting ready to compose, or beginning to compose, what is in many ways a Mediterranean epic. His journey into desert Arabia, so momentous in its results, was simply part of his epic journey, or rather it was an unforeseen excursion tacked on at the far end of it.

Since Doughty went off with the nomads in 1876 and his two volumes, recording the experience, were not published till 1888, it is fair to assume that Arabia suspended work on the poem for about that length of time, ten years, possibly twelve, though, as he assures us, it stayed in his mind even in the desert. Whether any part of it was written down before he went into Arabia is uncertain, but, if not, we have his word for it that he turned to writing it the moment the prose volumes were off the press. The British Museum manuscript, the only existing manu-

script of the poem, corroborates this. It is approximately the same length as the finished work and is divided, like it, into twenty-four books, which, to go by the headings and synopses, correspond closely to the present twenty-four. While it is an early draft, it is already much corrected and bears two revision dates, 1892 and 1894. Thus the gulf in time which the critic thought he detected is non-existent. In its inception and preparation the epic poem antedates the travel-book by a decade or more. If it does not antedate it in the writing, it follows hard upon it. It was set down in full in its first version, with the great ground-plan complete, before Doughty was out of his forties; he spent his fifties working over it till he was satisfied. By the time the old queen died, the manuscript must have reached its final form or come very near to it.

Thus *The Dawn in Britain* turns out to be a nineteenth-century poem, a Victorian poem. If this sounds strange today, it may not do so always. On the contrary, the poem may come to be seen to fit its dates so neatly that we could not imagine it elsewhere, whether earlier or later. At what other time in English literature, it may be asked, could this sense of history have flowered in its threefold aspect of scholarly, patriotic, and philosophical? In point of scholarship, which in Doughty was scientific as well as literary, the poet Edward Thomas, one of the earliest admirers of the poem, committed himself to the opinion that Doughty in *The Dawn in Britain* was not just a poet using history, but a historian in his own right like Livy. 'I can easily imagine', he wrote, 'that it might be annotated in such a way as to make an incomparably equipped history. Some day, no doubt, it will be so annotated'.

This is a claim that we must leave to the historians. But even without their verdict, we have to ask whether it is not the one poetic work in the period that is at all commensurate with the historical writing of the period. The only other work that suggests itself is Thomas Hardy's *Dynasts*, the epic-drama of an almost exact contemporary, which also appeared after the turn of the century, but it is by comparison hastily written and closer to fiction than to poetry. If it were merely a matter of versifying the dry bones of research the question we are asking would be wasted. What impresses us on every page of *The Dawn in Britain* is the power of the historical imagination which so merges what we know to have happened with what may have happened or what might have happened that the lines of demarcation disappear, as they do in the case of Caradoc's death, which is fully as remarkable a feat of history imagined as it is of poetry built into an edifice.

But the poem is rich in such things. When the little band of fugitive

Jews, Joseph and his companions, put in, towards the end of their sea-voyage, to the harbour of Corbelo at the mouth of the Liger, which is the Loire, they are taken before Priscus, the quaestor at the Roman outpost, who deals kindly with them, remembering how a Jew once dealt kindly with his father and even saved his life in the desert when others had left him for dead. This starts him talking and he tells about his early days, how he had lived as a boy at Petra:

> city of Nabataeans,
> *Convallis* deep, cleft in those mountains waste,

and how his father had been a centurion under Aelius in the Roman expedition into Arabia, which he also discusses. It is all done in a hundred lines and who but Doughty could have done it? One wonders again who else could have extracted from the potential of history the scene, later in the poem, in which the emperor Claudius on his way home in triumph from Britain meets Herod Antipas at Lugdunum, which is Lyons—a scene so realized in twenty or thirty lines as almost to persuade the historian himself that it happened so:

> Upon the morrow, Caesar wends, with pomp;
> To altar of Augustus, twixt the streams,
> And, lo, one purpled, by that sacred path,
> Him waits, whose forehead girt with golden bend;
> But, as murk twilight, be this stranger's looks.
> And knew him Claudius, Herod Antipas!
> (Was sometime tetrarch of a Roman province:)
> Caligula him exiled. Is he that Fox,
> Which John beheaded: he whose ward of soldiers,
> Spit on God's lowly Jesus; Whom they bruised,
> Ah! and buffeted! and Him mocked, with sceptre-reed,
> (Him, before worlds, All-Ruler!) in his hand;
> And diadem of sharp spines, and purple robe.
> Now this, which built Tiberias, by the Lake,
> Dwells, in a Roman villa, by Rhone's stream;
> Where, of an evil spirit, is vext his mind:
> And his adulterous wife, and she him, hath
> In deadly hate. Abhors this royal wretch,
> In Gaul, each day's returning cheerful light.
> To Caesar, bending, wisheth Herod gladness,
> Of glorious Victory! But ill omen Claudius
> Deems salutation of this Jew; nor spake
> He word again; nor will receive his boon;
> But gathering up his purple, on his face,
> Caesar, impatient, hastes, by him, to pass.

It is true that a younger poet might have all this knowledge and more—think of Robert Graves—but he could no longer have the impetus that Doughty had in shaping it. In one of the few notes of Doughty's that have been published[1] he wrote: "The poetic faculty must be allied with some saving robust quality, as patriotism or good sense, or else it is in danger of degenerating into a deliquescence of the brain" and in another: "The poet is not to meditate on man's vanity, but to serve his country"—views which may be repugnant to some poets today and unacceptable to others, but which were vital to him and are understandable in terms of his world, if not of ours. When he was alive it was not too late in England's day for him to write his epic patriotically in the belief that his fellow-countrymen were going to need it, and the belief worked to the extent of giving us the poem. This cannot be the first occasion in history when an epic poem came while there was just time or, should we say in Doughty's case, because there was just time, his sense of national jeopardy prophetically quickening his sense of pride and possession as an Englishman and so releasing the epic energy which, it may be, could not have come in any other way, not unlike the candle-flame which sometimes flares most brightly before it goes out.

If this view is correct, the poem owes its existence to Doughty's patriotism, or love of country, impelling him to go as far back as he could in order to see where it came from. As a starting-point this is not misleading. But, finding that the farther back he went, the more widely distributed the origins, and that, not one land, but many lands had gone to the making of it, he accepted the fact and explored it to the full, with the result that the poem he wrote does not so much commemorate England as commemorate the Europe that produced England as part of itself. Here, for once, love of country, instead of confining, enlarges. It crosses every frontier and takes in the whole of what was then the known world. Better still, it loses none of its initial warmth in doing so. In this poem there is as ample room, emotionally, for Phelles the Phoenician, stranded alone on a grey northern coast, to recall with tenderness the Mediterranean seaboard that he knew in childhood:

> Whose world of billows, like to watery light,
> Melodious, had lulled his cradle-sleep,

as there is for Sigamer, the son of Brennus, to rejoice on crossing over from the Continent and setting his eyes for the first time on the country his father was born in:

> And joys young Sigamer,
> In his wise heart, seeing his father's Britain.

For sheer generosity of insight, historical and poetical both, *The Dawn in Britain*, look where we may, will not be easy to match. "Infinite in his awareness and charity", says Hugh Macdiarmid of Doughty in his new poem.[2]

As for this epic's philosophy of history, or conception of history, in so far as it is not already provided for, there is no mistaking the faith in progress implicit in it—the forward movement from darkness to light, on the one hand, and the clash and reconciliation of opposed forces implementing it, on the other. If Doughty, as is possible, never gave these matters a thought, so much the better for the poem. He had the main idea in his bones and it operated of itself, as it did pervasively in the minds of so many of the Victorians, whether they read the philosophers or not. Since the theme of *The Dawn in Britain* is the development of civilization on "the utmost isle" (which was the poet's first and preferred title), from the time when it lay unpeopled and the poem can begin:

> Now after sundered from the continent,
> This isle lay empty, a land of cloud and frost
> And forest of wild beasts,

to the time when after immense suffering the life of the spirit, as we understand it, took root there and grew, the idea of progress was required from the start, and this is why we can accept it in Doughty's context, when we might reject it in another. There simply was and is this piece of progress in early Britain and Doughty re-enacts it.

It remains now to inquire why, if *The Dawn in Britain* is meritorious enough to be read, virtually no one today reads it. Those who know the poem and are happy with it are perhaps the least well qualified to say. But it is a commonplace of criticism in our time that epics are out of fashion. Indeed, it is taken for granted by those who write on the epic that this is a form of poetry that can only be tolerated as existing remotely in time or place, in Finland or Poland or in past centuries or in future centuries, but not in any sense here and now. See Bowra's book on *Heroic Poetry* or Tillyard's on *The English Epic* and their reviewers and you will get the implications. The notion, sometimes resorted to, that Doughty was an Elizabethan "lost in the centuries" goes with the theory nicely, but this does not make the notion true.

Furthermore, our *criteria* of new poetry are so closely adjusted to the short, lyrical, personal, private poems that we have been reading for now these thirty years and more that a poem such as *The Dawn in Britain* which is not short, but long, very long, and not personal, but impersonal, very impersonal, is apt to be disposed of *a priori* or laid aside at the first obstacle. At bottom the fault that is found in some quarters with the style of the poem is that you cannot write personal, private poetry in it. And it is true, you cannot. But the style was never intended for this purpose; it was intended for *The Dawn in Britain* which it fits as no other known style could and, what is more, fits equally well all over, whether it is Cuan or Talaith or Vespasian or Joseph or Herod.

In conclusion it may be noted that even now, during years when the poem is out of print, not read, not studied in universities, it goes on adding to its critical history and refuses to lie quiet in the grave. W. H. Auden in his *Poets of the English Language* (1950) represents Doughty with a well-chosen and, all things considered, liberal extract of some five hundred lines from Book 9, which entitles us to infer that Auden believes Doughty ought to be there in what he regards as the best company. In the same year John Heath-Stubbs, poet and co-editor of *The Faber Book of Twentieth-Century Verse*, in a critical volume on nineteenth-century poetry called *The Darkling Plain* has given us in ten pages the best account of the poem that we have. Respecting the style, he writes that Doughty "alone of latter-day poets" commands "the ritualistic pomp of diction" that epic calls for "without becoming either stilted or tumid," to which it might be objected that the term "ritualistic pomp" does not quite accord with a way of writing at once so plain-spoken and so full of surprises and that "sustained largeness of diction" might be better. On the work as a whole the judgment he passes is that it is "the only full-length epic poem in English which might not be lessened in comparison with Milton's masterpiece," though he is quick to add that it owes nothing to Milton and is "so different and individual in style and subject" as to make the comparison unnecessary.

George Bernard Shaw who, as we learn from recently published letters of his,[3] read as much Doughty in late life as he could lay hands on, also puts him with Milton. While he confesses that twenty minutes of Swinburne is his limit, he says that he "can open Doughty anywhere and read page after page with pleasure." Technically he finds him "an overwhelming master craftsman in epical blank verse"; he thinks it

"a public scandal" that his books are out of print; and he is "strongly of opinion" that *The Dawn in Britain* should be made available in a cheap edition for boys, to be read by them along with other epics as an introduction to history.

NOTES

1 See the introduction to the Cape edition of *The Dawn in Britain*, by Ruth M. Robbins, our leading authority.

2 *In Memoriam James Joyce* (Glasgow, 1955).

3 *The Best of Friends: Further Letters to S. C. Cockerell* (London: Hart-Davis, 1956).

Plato's Use of Myth

M. D. C. Tait

The exuberant imagery in which the world and the forces which control it are pictured in the mythical consciousness of a pre-scientific age or in the myths of primitive races today appears so remote from the austere concepts of scientific understanding as to preclude any positive relation between them. The phantasy and illusion of myth, it may seem, must simply be discarded for the intellection and reality of science. According to some historians of Greek thought, writing not so long ago, a clean break of this kind was effected on the coast of Asia Minor in the sixth century before Christ. Then, it would appear, Thales aroused his fellows from their mythological slumber by announcing in clear rational accents that water is the cause of all things. At that moment science and philosophy were born, full-armed, like Athene from the head of Zeus. These same historians tend, however, to neglect another remark attributed to Thales, or to boggle at its ostensible meaning. He is reported also to have said that all things are full of gods. This is inconvenient, and most unbecoming in the first positivist. And so we are assured that when Thales said "gods," he of course did not mean "gods," at least not in the religious sense of the word. Professor Gilson's pithy remark in this connection comes to mind. "Very few words have a more distinctly religious connotation than the word 'god.' "[1]

But a serious view should be treated with more respect. The scholars in question are not so lacking in historical perspective as I have suggested, and they are of course quite right when they insist on the vital significance of the new orientation which the earliest Greek philosophers gave to questionings about the external world. It is not surprising if, in hailing the new rationalistic approach, they failed to do justice to elements of continuity in mythical and rationalistic ways of thinking. The fact is not only that philosophy grew out of myth, but that, though myth is superseded by philosophy and by science, yet the forms of mythical thought persist and remain operative as factors in the very activity of

reason which constantly aims to achieve an ever more complete liberation from myth.

The title of this article advertises a more complete line of goods than will be delivered. Plato wrote many myths of different kinds, serving a variety of purposes, but here I shall confine myself to illustrating the persistence of the mythical element in one or two aspects only of his thought, taking as examples the myth of Love in the *Symposium*, and the myth of the Soul in the *Phaedrus*. In view of this restriction, and even if it were easier than it is to formulate in advance a definition of myth both concise and sufficiently comprehensive, I think it better to allow the meaning of the term, as it concerns us here, to appear from the examples.

But before turning to these, it might be well to remind ourselves of the difference between the myth-making both of primitive man and of the Greek poets on the one hand, and of Plato on the other. Primitive myth is something immediately felt and lived rather than consciously formulated. Man in very early times does not set himself over against his environment as subject to object, still less is he an object to himself. He has no awareness of himself as a person, an entity, distinct from the mythical powers which permeate and control the community with which his life and being are identified. His myths are not to be regarded as collections of legends recounting fabulous events and concealing a kind of rudimentary theorizing. Their function is a more immediate and vital one, namely to integrate man in and with his world, and by their constant re-enactment in ritual to safeguard life, indeed to make life possible. Primitive man is thus completely naïve in his myth-making, unaware both of himself and of the nature of his mythopoeic activity. It would be gratuitous to labour the difference between an attitude such as this and that of a philosopher like Plato.

For the Greek poets, too, myth is the natural medium of expression. But already, in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* the primitive naïveté has disappeared. The mythical world is no longer an immediate datum, accepted without any reflective configuration.[2] From being something unconsciously lived, myth has become a conscious making, poetry, for that is what the word poetry means. And by the same token the mythical content of this poetry has already—to use a fashionable word—been distanced. Myth is to some extent recognized for what it is, and therefore, in its primitive form at any rate, already transcended. Moreover, the patterns of life and thought are no longer imposed by anonymous

social forces alone. Now the individual poet, by remoulding the myths of tradition, and by composing new myths, interprets the world for his less gifted fellows. So wonderful a craftsman is he in their eyes that the first poets of legend were regarded as demigods, with power over the world of nature itself. Was it not said of Orpheus that by his song he soothed tigers and made the oak trees to follow him?

And if the successors of Orpheus were not divine, they were at least divinely inspired. Like the seer, the poet, in his own estimation and in that of his audience, was ἔνθεος, inspired by the god, and as such he laid claim to knowledge on subjects of deepest import for mankind. It is the god who "stirs, starts off" the bard Demodocus in the *Odyssey*,[3] when he sings of the Trojan war. That is the simple and direct word which Homer uses, ἐφορμᾶν, and the same word occurs in the *Ion* of Plato to describe the action of the Muses.[4] When the ancient poet invoked the Muses as the sources of his inspiration and knowledge, he meant what he said quite literally, and even Plato, in spite of the irony that plays over most of his deferential references to the poets, believed quite seriously in the Muses' response. The *Ion* speaks indifferently of "the Muse," "the Muses" and "the god." The flow of inspiration from the Muses through the poet to the rhapsode and on to his audience is likened to the force of a magnet passing through successive links of a chain. Indeed in this dialogue the poet is represented as the mouthpiece, the almost passive instrument of the god. "The god deprives these god-like men (i.e., the poets) of their senses, and uses them like seers and soothsayers in order that we who hear may know that it is not the poets who speak things of such great worth to us, but that it is the god who is speaking through them."[5] If this language seems strange to us, because, in the course of literary history, the invocation to the Muses became a frigid convention, and because aesthetic theory has come to take a less transcendental view of the springs of the poetic experience, we might do well to recall Shelley's famous words in *A Defence of Poetry*: "the mind in creation is as a fading coal, which some invisible influence, like an inconstant wind, awakens to transitory brightness."[6] And in our own day Rilke characterized his *Sonnets to Orpheus* as a "transmission" ("Sendung"), and said that "the whole first part was written down in a single breathless obedience" ("in einem einzigen atemlosen Gehorchen niedergeschrieben").[7]

Knowledge derived from so august a source might well be regarded as authoritative both by the poets and by their audience. But it is just

this claim which Plato, in spite of a quite seriously held doctrine of poetic inspiration, contested with passionate intensity. So far from revealing the truth about the divine nature the poets by the myths they tell falsify and degrade it. By the crude utilitarianism of their ethic they destroy the ground of morality, and by fixing attention merely on the particular, they turn men away from reality. The product of the poet's making is a mere copy of a copy, at third remove from truth.

We may be sure then that Plato's myths will be different from those of the poets and told for a different purpose. But why should he have had recourse to myth at all? He knew well that it is a far cry from the poetic imagery of myth to the method of critical analysis which he had learned from Socrates and made his own. The simplest answer is that he was driven to write myths, he could not do without them. I am not thinking of psychological compulsion, and hasten to assure the reader that I shall not venture into that darkling land inhabited by Freudian symbols and archetypal images of the collective unconscious.

Umbrarum hic locus est Somni Noctisque soporae.

The compulsion which I have in mind is less recondite; something of what it is will appear later, but now let us turn to our myths.

First, the myth of Love in the *Symposium*. The whole of this dialogue may be regarded as *ironic* in the Socratic sense; for in a festive, even frivolous setting and form it treats a subject of the utmost seriousness. It purports to be a record of a conversation at a party given by the tragic poet Agathon to celebrate the victory of his play. There had been another and very light-hearted party indeed the day before. So merry had it been that the guests who attended both now felt rather weak, and welcomed the suggestion that, instead of formal and compulsory drinking, there should be a contest of speeches in praise of Love. The company was distinguished and sophisticated, each member of it in his own way a representative of the fifth century, the age of enlightenment. The atmosphere was erotic and the relationships, to say the least, subtle. It is apparent from the outset that the Love which is to be praised is between persons of the same sex.

It is no part of my task here to attempt either an explanation or a defence of this feature of Greek society. If it seems less repellent in ancient Greece than it does elsewhere and since, that is partly because the Greeks generally were less inhibited and more candid than we are in discussing such matters. But this impression is also, I think, due in particular to Plato's treatment of the subject in this very dialogue. At

any rate such is the whole background of the work, assumed without question throughout. Unless we are prepared to accept this without resentment, one of the greatest works of literature must remain unintelligible to us. Plato elsewhere condemns the relationships from which the sublimities of the *Symposium* take their rise. Nevertheless, it is part of its essential irony that they do.

We may well take note of the setting, for the literary form of Plato's work has itself a philosophical significance. Part of this is simply that philosophy for him was not the activity of an immaculate reason moving in abstraction from what men were actually thinking and saying and doing. Rather it grows out of and is determined by the concrete human situation to which the inquiry of the dialogue is a response. So a little more about the people at the party.

The host, Agathon, is urbane and elegant, possessed of all the social graces, and the quick, natural courtesy with which he receives and treats his guests is altogether charming. Phaedrus makes the first speech. As we learn from the dialogue which bears his name, he took an enthusiastic, if not very discriminating interest in oratory. His own speech here is certainly very thin. Pausanias, who is the lover of Agathon, is more analytical. He is something of a sociologist, and has kept his eyes open as he went about the towns of Greece. Eryximachus, the lover of Phaedrus, is a ridiculous pedantic doctor who is eager to display his learning, and in the process reveals a signal lack of judgment. But more interesting than any of these is the great comic poet Aristophanes. With amazing virtuosity and insight Plato has succeeded in capturing the quintessence of the Aristophanic spirit in the speech which he gives him, a creation in which the liveliest imagination and broad Rabelaisian humour are blended with pathos and poetic beauty, and with more than a trace of philosophic discernment.

Aristophanes praises Love as the god who heals our divided nature and restores us to the blessing of our pristine wholeness. Human beings were once spherical in shape. Each had a head with two faces turned in opposite directions on a circular neck, four arms, four legs, four or two of everything in fact. Some of the creatures were all male, some all female, and some were mixed. They were very strong and, when they wanted to, could roll along at tremendous speed on all eight limbs. They grew so insolent as to become a menace to the gods. So Zeus cut them in two, and told Apollo to turn their faces around and sew them up in front like draw-purses, smoothing out the wrinkles, but leaving a few around the navel as a wholesome reminder of what had

happened. Some details however were passed over: the poor sundered creatures yearned each for its other half, and the race wandered about perishing in frustration and despair till Zeus in pity made the necessary anatomical adjustments. The way in which we are now attracted one to the other depends on what our original undivided nature was, and Love is the beneficent god who heals our wounds and satisfies our longing for wholeness. We should therefore honour him, and behave ourselves, or Zeus will again split us in two, this time down the line of our noses, and we shall have to go hopping along on one leg looking like figures in bas-relief.

Socrates is, of course, the central figure. He is in tune with the festivity not only in mood and temper, but, surprisingly, he is dressed and groomed for it too. He arrives fresh from the baths, not barefoot as he usually went, but sandalled and looking so spruce as to excite comment. The other guests know that it is all one to him whether wine is drunk or not. Socrates can either abstain altogether, or drink more than anyone else without ever showing the effects. But he is delighted that there are to be speeches in praise of Love: it is the only subject, he says, which he understands.

The last to appear is the young blood Alcibiades, handsome, brilliant, unprincipled. After the speeches are over, he is heard in the vestibule shouting "Where is Agathon? Take me to Agathon." Supported by a flute girl and other companions, he appears in the doorway, very tipsy indeed, a wreath of ivy and violets meant for the crowning of Agathon tilted over his eyes. At first he does not notice Socrates, and proceeds to crown the poet. Then he catches sight of him, and some vehement erotic banter ensues. For Socrates is his lover, but how different a lover from the rest. After taking some ribands from Agathon's wreath to crown Socrates too lest he be jealous, and tossing off the largest container of wine available, Alcibiades launches into his marvellous panegyric not of the god of Love, but of Socrates the perfect lover, who is like the hollow carved statues of Silenus, the ugly and wanton satyr, which, when opened, disclose images of the gods. Socrates too puts on a show of satyr-like behaviour, "but," says Alcibiades, "a temperance passing belief abounds within: the treasures there are divine, golden and all fair."[8]

The modern reader is likely to be puzzled by the way in which the subject common to all speeches is presented. Leaving aside all of worth and beauty in human relations that is conjured up by the word love, we should all agree that at its most prosaic minimum it denotes some-

thing subjective in a man, a condition or activity of his psycho-physical make-up. But all the speakers, including Socrates, who is unquestionably Plato's mouthpiece, adopt a point of view quite different from this. The Love which is praised by the first five speakers is referred to not as the sentiment or emotion or desire which a man feels but as a god. And Socrates speaks of a δαίμων or spirit who is an intermediary between gods and men. How are we to understand this? The Greek word θεός has of course a different and wider connotation than has the English word "god." But even when it is applied to persons, or indeed to objects or events, in what we should call a purely naturalistic or secular way, it has not in Greek lost its mythical or religious force; rather religious and mythical attitudes have persisted so strongly as to find expression in (to us) surprising contexts. When Plato speaks of Love as a god this should not suggest to us some pretty fancy, Cupid with his bow as he appears, say, in Ovid's tale of Apollo and Daphne, or on the canvas of Poussin. Nor yet should we leap to the conclusion that we have here merely a symbol to be interpreted allegorically, a supernatural being, that is, who stands for a natural force, both respectively recognized as such. I should urge that this is to foist a modern point of view on the ancient, and that, with all due allowance for the vast differences in Homeric and Platonic ways of thinking, the antithesis of natural and supernatural is nearly as foreign to the language and thought of the *Symposium* as it is to that of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

In the *Symposium* we have a case of the poetic and mythical attitude persisting after the belief in the gods of mythology had largely disappeared, for of course none of the speakers, even apart from Socrates, is a naïve believer in the traditional gods, to whose company, indeed, Eros can hardly be said to belong. Eros was not prominent either in cult or in literature, and this comparative neglect no doubt gave Plato his opportunity. It left him free to develop in the speech of Socrates the conception of Love as a *daimon*, a spirit, who leads men step by step from the love of physical beauty to the love of the form of beauty itself. It left him free, that is, to choose Eros as the divinity who not only inspires the love of wisdom, but who is in effect himself that love, for in his nature, the nature of philosophy, as Plato at least understood it, is manifest.

Socrates speaks immediately after Agathon has delivered his brilliant but shallow *tour de force*, full of conceits, in which he praises Eros in terms of the traditional mythology, as the youngest and fairest of the

gods, who confers the greatest blessings on mankind. In a short dialectical passage the philosopher demolishes the poet, but with a gentle irony and a delicate sense that a guest must not embarrass his host. Socrates says that he had once himself made exactly the same mistake as had Agathon in thinking that Love is a great and beautiful god. A certain priestess, Diotima, had put him right on this point, and now he was willing to tell the company what Diotima had told him. Love, that is desire, is the love *of* something, and a man desires not what he has, but what he lacks. Beauty and goodness, according to Agathon, are the objects of Love. Therefore Love cannot possess these, and lacking them, cannot be a god. The mistake of Agathon, as of all the previous speakers, had been to identify Love with the object loved. But on the other hand, this does not mean that Love is ugly, bad and a mortal. He is a *daimon*, a spirit, intermediate between gods and men, the child of Poverty and Resource. Like his mother, Poverty, he is rough and poor, but being his father's son, he is energetic, scheming, avid for knowledge. Eros, then, is not a god nor wise, but a lover of wisdom, a *philosophos*, desiring the wisdom he does not possess.

Such is the nature of Love. What is his function? The fact is that he makes everyone always to be in love. This would be more generally recognized were it not for a habit of speech. We commonly appropriate to one kind or part of Love a term properly applicable to a wider whole, just as we limit the term poetry to one kind of making. Love is properly the name for man's desire always to seek his satisfaction and happiness in the perpetual possession of good. But how is a mortal, the creature of a day, to possess the good forever? Only by a begetting, where alone this is possible, in beauty. The strange behaviour of animals in mating and their concern for their young are but the first manifestations of a Love which finds diverse expression in an ascending scale. All men intensely desire to have offspring whether of body or of soul. Those whose creative desire is physical show their love for women, and hope to attain immortality through their children. In others, the creative desire is of the soul. Such are poets, statesmen and finally the lovers of beauty, φιλόκαλοι, and lovers of wisdom, φιλόσοφοι. Finding one in whom beauty of outward form is united with beauty of soul, the φιλόκαλος brings forth with him spiritual offspring, wisdom and all virtue, which are more to be desired than children of the body, because more beautiful and immortal. Such a one learns to pass from love of the beautiful individual to love of all outward beauty wherever found. Then he comes to value spiritual above physical beauty, and to recognize its kinship

in all its manifestations, in conduct, in institutions, in all kinds of learning. Finally he will reach what has all along been the goal of his desire. Like the initiate in the mysteries, to whom the sacred objects are finally disclosed, he suddenly gains the vision of the form of beauty itself, perfect and eternal. Being in contact not with an image of beauty but with the truth, he brings forth not images of goodness but true goodness, and, so far as a mortal can, attains immortality.

"In the gaining of this boon," says Socrates, "human nature can have no greater helper than Love." That is why he advises every man to honour Eros, and why he himself in special degree practises τὰ ἐρωτικά, the ways of Love.[9]

Now what are we to make of this strange, and in Plato's Greek, very beautiful language? Some of it, such as the account of the parentage of Eros, is patently allegorical. But what of the rest? It would be easy to say that by the *daimon* Eros who takes possession of men, Plato means us to understand simply the power of desire. It would be easy but mistaken. In Socrates' first speech in the *Phaedrus* Love is defined in precisely these naturalistic terms as irrational desire which gains mastery over judgment. But after finishing this speech, Socrates recoils in horror from what he has said as blasphemous and false.

It is certainly odd that the language of myth should be employed to characterize the activity of reflective thought, or at least the impulse to it, its dynamic. It is odd, since it is by this very activity that man is freed from the dogmatism and credulity of the mythical consciousness, is freed from the state in which, his critical powers still lying dormant, he has scarcely begun to obey the Delphic injunction "Know thyself." Does Plato merely wish to emphasize here what he so often stresses elsewhere, the *phil* in philosophy? Always, of course, for Plato the philosophic life is "rooted and grounded in love," though in a sense different from that which the word has in the Epistle to the Ephesians. Virtue is knowledge, not as mere cognition, but as a knowing made dynamic by desire for its object. It might, I suppose, be argued that Plato in the *Symposium* merely wishes vividly to express this truth, and also, perhaps, to suggest by the figure of Eros who does not know, but seeks to know, that the reason of man is not an autonomous, self-regulating activity, but that it is bound up with and determined by the rest of our nature and by our concrete human situation and predicament here and now. True, the philosophic lover is himself active; the desire is *his* desire. But he is not the spontaneous initiator of it, it is evoked in him, and the impulse is not conceived in psychological terms as coming from an un-

conscious, or sub-rational, or supra-rational part of his own nature, but in mythical terms as coming from a force which acts on him from without. The *daimon* Eros makes him to be, as the Greek would say, ἐρωτικῶς διακείμενον,[10] puts him into the condition of love. The philosopher then is in the same case, in this respect, as is the poet. Like the poet he experiences a kind of visitation or possession. It is called μανία, madness, in the *Phaedrus*.

The setting of this dialogue, like that of the *Symposium*, is significant. Socrates is not in his usual haunts, nor is he quite his usual self. He is in the country, where, he says, he never goes, because the trees can't teach him anything. Unlike Wordsworth, Socrates did not find a vernal wood morally enlightening. But Phaedrus, who has a speech of Lysias under his arm, has suggested a country walk, and could lead Socrates all about Attica by holding out a volume to him, just as one can make an animal come along by waving a bundle of vegetables in front of his nose. It is hot noon-day and they sit down in the shade by the stream of the Ilissus. The grass is soft and the air fragrant with the blossom of the plane tree, where the cicadas are singing over their heads. Statues here and there show that the place is sacred to the river-god and to the nymphs. Phaedrus reads aloud the speech of Lysias, a tiresome, badly composed piece, in which the Lover is decried as being not of sound mind but sick, and therefore harmful to the beloved. Socrates affects to share Phaedrus' enthusiasm for the speech, but soon betrays his poor opinion of it, and reluctantly agrees to improve on Lysias by making a speech of his own in the same vein. So far as definition of subject and organization of material are concerned he does so. He is moreover susceptible to the influences of the place and is unusually fluent. But he dimly feels all the while that there is something badly wrong with what he is saying. When he has finished, his familiar sign, the voice, comes to him bidding him not leave the place until he has made atonement for his offence against the divinity. So in fear of the god he will make a recantation, a palinode, and hope not to be struck blind as Stesichorus was for maligning Helen of Troy.

Socrates had sinned in treating love as a madness which is a disease, and therefore evil. But madness is not all of a piece, as apparently Theseus in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* thinks it is, when he places in one bracket "the lunatic, the lover and the poet." Besides pathological madness there is the madness that is bestowed as a divine gift, and through this the greatest blessings come to men. It is of different kinds. One is the madness of the poet of which the Muses are the source,

and on which poetic excellence depends. Another, and the best of all kinds of divine possession, is the madness of the Lover. To show that this is so the nature of the soul must be set forth. The exposition consists of two parts, a proof of the immortality of soul, which does not concern us here, and a mythical account of its nature and history.

Whatever its sources, in Orphism or elsewhere, the imagery of this myth could have been employed as it is here only by one who was himself possessed by the madness which flows from the Muses. It is the madness which, as the Phaedrus puts it,[11] brings release from the customary and the conventional, the release, that is to say, of heightened awareness effected by some of the greatest poetic images, which are at once so strange and so compelling. The soul, whether of god or man, is likened to a union of powers in an equipage of winged horses and their winged charioteer. The charioteers and horses of the gods are wholly good. Hence the divine chorus, ordering all things, moves in untroubled procession to the vault of heaven, and is borne around in its revolution, enjoying a perpetual vision of the blessed sights in the region above the heaven, the forms of justice, temperance, and the rest in their full and unobscured being. But the progress of the other souls is difficult. The charioteers and horses are not wholly good, and one of the horses is of inferior stock. The charioteer strives to lift their heads to the upper region in order that they may share the vision of true being, but the horses rear and plunge. In the *mêlée* their wings are broken and they fall.

Now all this is usually regarded as an allegorical restatement of the *Republic*'s doctrine of the tripartite soul. But the myth does not so much reiterate that the soul has three different parts, rational, spirited and appetitive, as well on the ἔρως, the desire, that is present in all three, and which is symbolized by the central image of the myth, the wing. "The natural power of the wing," says Socrates, "is to raise that which is heavy and to carry it aloft. More than any other nature it shares in the divine, that is, the wise, the beautiful, the good. By these the winged nature of the soul is nurtured and grows."[12]

But the vision of these forms by beings other than gods is intermittent merely. Accordingly, weighed down with forgetfulness and evil, they lose their wings and fall to earth. The character they assume in their several incarnations depends on how full their vision of reality had been. Those who have seen most become seekers after wisdom and beauty, lovers, and followers of the Muses. But everyone in the fall forgets what he once saw. Now the forms of justice, temperance and the like cannot

be seen by the eye. Beauty alone of the forms is most manifest to sense and most loveable (ἐρασιμώτατον). Beauty then is a kind of bridge (the metaphor is not Plato's) between the world of sense and the world of forms. And when a lover receives through his eyes the effluence of beauty from his beloved, then the wings of his soul begin to grow again, a shuddering comes over him as he tries to recall what he once saw and knew. As the wings grow, the soul is once more borne upward, and finally recovers the vision of truth which it had before it lost its wings.

Such is the nature of the human soul, and the principle and the end of the distinctive mode of its activity. Later in the dialogue this myth is referred to as παιδιά,[13] a kind of playing. But this does not mean that its content is to be dismissed as trivial. The same word "play" is used also in the *Phaedrus* to characterize all written work in contrast to the living movement and exchange of thought:[14] it would therefore be applicable, in Plato's view, to the whole of his dialogues as they stand today. It may be presumed, then, that myth is play of a rather serious kind. What Socrates says of the myth in the *Phaedo* applies with equal force here. "No sensible man," he remarks, "would insist that the facts are just as I have described them, but that this, or something like it, is the truth about our souls and their habitations. . . . This, I think, it is reasonable to hold, and a belief worth risking."[15] The details, then, of the imagery of the myth are not to be taken seriously, but its general purport is.

Plato holds that the only object of knowledge strictly so called can be the forms, the changeless constituents of the world revealed by thought. Dialectic explores the relations of these forms one to the other and to the form of the Good, and reflects in its structure the articulation of the real world. The apprehension of all else is something less than knowledge. But there *is* much else of the greatest importance both for the dialectician as such, and for him and for all of us just as human beings. How, for example, is the philosopher to explain the relation of the world of forms to the world of sense, and how are the *a priori* and empirical factors in knowledge to be related? To these fundamental questions the only answers which Plato gives are metaphors and myths. Particulars participate in or imitate the forms, and the sense world is the production of a divine craftsman working from a pattern of forms. Learning is a recollection of what the soul once knew at an earlier stage in its history. Answers of this kind no doubt fail to satisfy, but we can hardly berate Plato for not having at once provided solutions

to problems which after nearly 2500 years still confront us. To have been the first to formulate them is an impressive feat.

Further, what of the intelligence itself and the soul in which Plato believes that it resides, that which each of us is in his individual being? The soul is not a form, nor is it an object which passively receives a form. It is the activity, itself necessarily individual, which apprehends the forms in cognition and realizes the ethical forms in moral action. "Its particularity is therefore not accidental to it, but essential to its perfection."[16] In its particularity and as the source of motion it stands, so to speak, outside the system of forms in dualistic opposition to them,[17] and cannot be, like them, an object of knowledge strictly so called. For while sense-perception and opinion are content to attend to the particular in its particularity, reason cannot so proceed, at least when it aims at a purely cognitive goal. To become an object of thought the particular must be subjected to analysis, or it must take its place in a logical structure as an instance of a universal, or be apprehended as a term constituted by its relations to other terms in a system, as cause to effect, for example, or as means to end. The intellect, moreover, not only finds it easier to deal with the universal than with the particular, it also tends to immobilize its objects; it finds beginnings, endings and the changes between uncongenial to it. Accordingly, an extreme type of rationalism tends to withdraw in abstraction from the concrete existent with its beginnings, changes and ending, and is disposed to deny status to everything which is opaque to reason in these respects. For such a type of philosophy reason inevitably becomes a kind of self-completing activity, which, by identifying reality with itself, can have no object other than itself, so that thought, as Aristotle is finally constrained to say, thinks itself.[18] Plato's language, it must be admitted, sometimes appears to suggest that he too is a rationalist of this extreme type. But it is not so. He is saved in the first instance, of course, by his salutary realism, for his dialectic is seeking, a journey, which points always to an object other than and beyond itself.

But he is also saved from a self-immuring intellectualism by having recourse to myth, which he recognises as an autonomous form of apprehension valid in its own sphere, and supplementary to dialectic. Aristotle's attempt at a solution in rationalistic terms of the problem of individuality is instructive by way of contrast with Plato's mythical statement, for it is self-defeating and fails to satisfy the exigencies even of his own epistemology. Socrates and Kallias, says Aristotle,[19] differ

from each other not at all in form, but only in matter. But matter as such is unknowable, and therefore being in its primary sense, namely the individual existent, eludes knowledge. Yet we know in our bones, if not in our heads, that there is a difference, and that it is immense, between Socrates as Socrates and Kallias as Kallias. Plato knew it too, and in face of the limitations of conceptual thinking was prepared, as we have seen, to present the fact of our individual being in terms of myth. The mythical approach is here appropriate because, like sense-perception and opinion (δόξα), myth is always concerned with the particular, never with the universal. The images of myth cannot be subjected to the generalizing and rationalizing process of allegory. Er the son of Armenius[20] is an individual, not an instance of a type, and the meadow where he saw the souls congregating in joy does not "stand for" anything else. That my self-awareness and my awareness of other selves are disengaged from the mythical sense of the unity of life, are not the result of any process of ratiocination, but rather are a function of mythical thinking[21] is a different point which, to be sure, Plato did not himself make, and could scarcely have made in this form. But I suspect it has a bearing on the reasons why Plato set forth the nature of the individual soul in the imagery of myth.

The Platonic myth, then, has the negative function of indicating the limits and limitations of conceptual thinking and of knowledge strictly so called. But it has a positive function too, or rather perhaps we should say that this negative function has a positive side. Plato is first and always a moralist, and, further, his aim is not so much the acquisition for its own sake of theoretical knowledge of man's moral nature as the production of the desirable moral character, for which, certainly, knowledge of the nature of goodness is the primary and indispensable condition. Nowhere is Plato's dominantly practical interest more apparent than in the myths, which are concerned, not with universal and abstract principles of morality, but with the individual moral subject who must fulfil his destiny in a cosmos by attaining the stature proper to his nature. We noticed at the outset that primitive myth integrates man with his world, affirms his solidarity with it. The myth of the soul in the *Phaedrus*, the eschatological myths of the *Phaedo*, of the *Gorgias* and of the *Republic*, the whole of the *Timaeus*, fulfil very much the same function. They locate man in his world. Plato did not believe, as certain contemporary writers do, that man is *abandonné*, flung into a world which is alien or hostile to him. The reasonable faith of these myths is that, however precarious his fortunes, man's nature and destiny

stand in significant relation to the order and structure of the cosmos. By locating man in his world, then, the Platonic myth provides the framework within which his thought and action move, and give these meaning and direction by pointing to their end, their τέλος. It is not only in the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus* that this τέλος is contemplated in the imagery of myth. In the *Republic* also it is suggested by the figure of the Sun, symbolizing the Good, which, being the goal of man's knowledge, can also be the principle of his action, because it is the end of all his desire.

NOTES

I have to acknowledge indebtedness for stimulating suggestion in particular to the following: Georges Gusdorf, *Mythe et Philosophie*, and Gerhard Krüger, *Einsicht und Leidenschaft: Das Wesen des Platonischen Denkens*. To the latter, itself a work full of insight, I only wish that my obligation could have been greater.

1 Gilson, *God and Philosophy*, 4.

2 Even for the primitive myth-maker, of course, the given is not *merely* given. In itself myth is, as E. Cassirer has shown, a form-giving principle or function of the mind, with a status of its own, side by side with the categories of the scientific understanding. The contrast in the text is drawn only between the mythical world as instinctively apprehended by the primitive intelligence and as more consciously and deliberately structured by the poet in literary composition.

3 *Odyssey* VIII. 499.

4 *Ion* 534c.

5 *Ibid.* 534cd.

6 In *English Critical Essays, Nineteenth Century* (World's Classics ed.), 156.

7 Rilke, *Briefe aus Muzot*, 195.

8 *Symposium* 216de.

9 *Symposium* 212b.

10 For the expression, used of Socrates, cf. *Symposium* 216d.

11 *Phaedrus* 265a.

12 *Phaedrus* 246d.

13 *Phaedrus* 265c.

14 *Phaedrus* 276d.

15 *Phaedo* 114d.

16 M. R. Foster, *The Political Philosophies of Plato and Hegel*, 58.

17 Cf. *Sophist* 248e.

18 *De Anima* $429b^{9}$ and *Metaphysics* $1074b^{34-36}$.

19 *Metaphysics* $1034a^{5-8}$.

20 Republic 614d.

21 Cf. H. R. MacCallum's essay "Myth and Intelligence," in *Imitation and Design* (Toronto, 1953), 106–10.

The Artist and the Rose

Barbara Seward

To even the casual reader of James Joyce it must soon become apparent that the rose is a recurrent symbol in both *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Ulysses*. Its central importance in *Ulysses* as a symbol of Molly Bloom has been adequately demonstrated,[1] and the interrelationship between the *Portrait* and *Ulysses* is universally acknowledged. It is therefore surprising that no one has yet seen fit to examine the flower's complex function in the earlier novel. Taking a place beside water and birds as one of the *Portrait*'s leading symbols, the rose plays a far from negligible role in the development of both structure and theme. Roses blossom at crucial stages of Stephen Dedalus's experience in association with three of his principal concerns: women, religion, and art. Since his conceptions of all three are ambivalent and inseparable, the use of a symbol capable of suggesting various levels of conscious and unconscious meaning is essential to the full expression of his emotional state. Beyond this, his emotional state itself is dynamic and fluctuating, so that the rose takes on additional significance in conveying vital changes in attitudes and reactions determining Stephen's course on the road to maturity.

Joyce, as we know, saw analogies everywhere. In choosing the rose as a dominant symbol for Stephen's intricate emotions, he was choosing a symbol admirably suited to suggesting a complex of these analogies. For centuries the rose has served as emblem of many of man's fundamental concerns, among them those concerns most significant to Stephen. As the flower of beautiful women, it has long been allied with both sensual and spiritual love; and association with the beauty of women is but a short step from association of the rose with the beauty of art. Further, Joyce, who was impressed by such symbolic achievements as the four-fold allegory of Dante's *Comedy* or the indefinite suggestiveness of the early Yeats, could find in these precursors conspicuous roses used as symbols of women, religion, and art. With traditional analogies

supporting and enhancing private preoccupations, he was able to enrich Stephen's rose by introducing evocations of objective beliefs into the interplay of subtle subjective impressions.

The symbol's association with Stephen is made on the very first page of the *Portrait*. This in itself is surely an indication of its intended importance; for Joyce, who was notably exacting about every word and the position of every word in his books, was anything but negligent of his opening pages. Here Stephen learns a song about a rose:

> *O, the wild rose blossoms*
> *On the little green place.*
> He sang that song. That was his song.
> *O, the green wothe botheth.*[2]

The little green place clearly suggests Ireland, while the wild rose hardly less clearly suggests Stephen, who is at this time in the blossoming stage, who specifically claims the song as "his," and who is to be essentially rebellious, alone, and in his own terms "wild" throughout his Irish youth. With the green rose in the child's own version of the song, hints of Stephen's artistic inclinations are introduced. By altering the wording he is exercising incipient creativity, and by positing a green rose he is creating in imagination that which does not exist elsewhere. As a flower whose colour is that of Ireland and whose creation is dependent upon Stephen's imagination, the green rose of the child's initial artistic effort acts as a symbolic foreshadowing of the young man's final determination "to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race" (p. 299).

The green rose also appears to be related to Stephen's emotional condition. Green is suggestive of fertility and therefore of potentiality, but at the same time implies present unripeness or immaturity. In this respect the flower is associated not only with Stephen's youth but also with his persistent desire to discover an impossible, subjective ideal in the actual world. The association is made specific when, during Stephen's first school experience, the War of the Roses in his mathematics class calls his song to mind again (p. 8): "But you could not have a green rose. But perhaps somewhere in the world you could." And his thought here is simply an early expression of the longing that later dominates his adolescence, "to meet in the real world the unsubstantial image which his soul so constantly beheld" (p. 71).

This interpretation is supported by the fact that Stephen's fantasies of Mercedes, the "unsubstantial image" in question, always have a rose

garden for their setting. The ideal of Mercedes was derived from Stephen's reading *The Count of Monte Cristo* and identifying himself with the novel's hero in his love for the girl of that name. In fact, Stephen's fantasy owes to Dumas almost every romantic detail: a lady who embodies all goodness and virtue, a love that will weather untold hardships, and, when his dream shall have been betrayed, a triumph no less glorious than the passion that provokes it. But Stephen's ideal is framed with roses which do not appear in Dumas: "Outside Blackrock, on the road that led to the mountains, stood a small whitewashed house in the garden of which grew many rosebushes: and in this house, he told himself, another Mercedes lived" (p. 68). Since no rose garden is to be found in Dumas (although almost all else down to the whitewash is Dumas), Joyce undoubtedly adds it with symbolic intent. Through associating Mercedes with roses he is able to make more evident her relation to other women in the *Portrait* who are also associated with roses. Further, his use of symbolism in the treatment of Mercedes enables him to express more than a single meaning and thus to suggest the complexity of young Stephen's attitude towards women.

The ideal lady in her rose garden is on one level reminiscent of Beatrice, who leads Dante to the rose of heaven and is herself enthroned on one of its petals. Other features of Stephen's fantasy support this association. The Count of Monte Cristo, with whom Stephen identifies himself, is named Edmond Dantes. In addition to the likeness of names, both Dante and Dantes were proud and angry exiles, intense moral idealists, and devoted lovers. In each, love for the lady remained chaste and unconsummated; in each it served as moral guide throughout an otherwise troubled life.[3] Then, reinforcing the clear Dantesque parallels to *The Count of Monte Cristo* (which Joyce, if not Dumas, was surely aware of), are two further parallels to Dante, pointed up by Joycean modifications of Dumas. While Dantes is in his teens at the time of falling in love with Mercedes, Stephen, like Dante, is still a child. More important, while Dantes' Mercedes lives on a promontory, Stephen's lives on a road leading to mountains. The substitution of mountains for promontory seems deliberate: Dante's attempt to climb the holy hill when he lost his way in the dark wood of sense and his success in climbing Purgatory by grace imparted through Beatrice both find their echo in Stephen's later youth when he, lost in his own dark wood, experiences relief in remembering his early vision of purity (pp. 111–12):

In the pauses of his desire, when the luxury that was wasting him gave room to a softer languor, the image of Mercedes traversed the background of his memory. He saw again the small white house and the garden of rosebushes on the road that led to the mountains.

The association of Mercedes with roses that have perceptible Dantesque hues links her to other rose-women in the *Portrait* who are also in some sense Beatrice-like. Whether secular or spiritual, the later roses have roots in Mercedes' garden, for Stephen's childhood fantasy-woman embodies within herself the seeds of those to follow. First among her descendants is the Virgin herself. As a chaste, ennobling influence Mercedes plays a role in Stephen's consciousness (as does Beatrice in Dante's) which is similar in some ways to that of Mary. During his struggles with lust and guilt, when memories of Mercedes brought transitory balm, the idea of the Virgin was a still more potent source of inspiration and relief. Since the rose is traditionally symbolic of the Virgin as well as of womankind, Stephen's experience of penance as expressed in prayers to Mary is appropriately conveyed by the same flower that has been associated with his earlier female idol: "his prayers ascended to heaven from his purified heart like perfume streaming upwards from a heart of white rose" (p. 168). The use of rose symbolism for both Mary and Mercedes to evoke analogous moods of elevated serenity makes apparent a parallel between Stephen's divine and earthly ideals.

But the correspondence between ideals and roses is devious. While Stephen's conscious worship of chastity at this time is strongly influenced by his unquestioning Catholicism,[4] his unconscious reactions to womankind are not entirely in accord with Catholic ideals. In a novel told entirely from Stephen's conscious point of view, such unconscious reactions must be conveyed primarily by symbolic indirection. The roses of Mercedes and the Virgin indicate Stephen's suppressed sensual desires as well as his acknowledged admiration for holiness. Mercedes' dwelling in a garden of rosebushes, through suggesting the idealized sexuality of the *Roman de la Rose*, clarifies the nature of the "strange unrest" Stephen felt when he "brooded upon her image" (p. 70). And the "heart of white rose" he offers to the Virgin at the end of the religious retreat ironically recalls his sensations at its outset: "Stephen's heart had withered up like a flower of the desert that feels the simoom coming from afar" (p. 123).

Such intimations of unconscious sexual stirrings are reinforced by

association with other symbols. Stephen's painful, ascetic attempts to transform the "withered" flower of his sensual nature into the purified "white rose" of the Virgin evoke the novel's recurrent associations of white, the colour of Catholic purity, with cold, dank, unpleasant things.[5] More specifically, the Virgin's flower recalls the only other white rose in the *Portrait*, that worn by Stephen during the early War of the Roses in his mathematics class. On this occasion Stephen's white rose is defeated by the opposing red rose, just as later his religious ideal of chastity, associated with the Virgin's white rose, was to be defeated by a victorious sensual ideal, associated with the more commonly secular red rose.

Red and white roses, then, symbolize Stephen's conflict between the flesh and the spirit. It is notable that Joyce assigned no colour to the roses surrounding Mercedes, and this is possibly because she is Stephen's "unsubstantial image," the green rose of the child's still undefined longing. Certainly the fantasy of Mercedes contains in embryo both religious and profane poles of Stephen's conflict, while his subsequent worship of the Virgin represents his first conscious choice between opposites. Since the choice is contrary to his nature, his repudiation of the Virgin in favour of a secular ideal is almost inevitable. Significantly, his reversal, the climax of the book, again reminds us of Mercedes and this time culminates in a gigantic red rose.

Through his encounter with the girl on the beach Stephen is converted from the worship of things divine to the worship of things earthly. The significance of this inverted conversion is to a great extent communicated by symbolism which expresses opposition to Catholicism through association with a markedly secular rose. Throughout the experience, Stephen's most frequent adjective is "wild," indicating both rebellion and release, and echoing the "wild rose" with which he identified himself in infancy. The girl, recalling Mercedes, is suggestive of Beatrice: like Beatrice, she has come as a messenger of ultimate truth, and, like Beatrice, she will guide Stephen by her eyes to his vision of ineffable glory. But going beyond Mercedes, the girl on the beach is a now avowedly sensual Beatrice, and the vision to which her inspiration leads will be an avowedly secular vision: "Her eyes had called him and his soul had leaped at the call. . . . A wild angel had appeared to him, the angel of mortal youth and beauty, an envoy from the fair courts of life to throw open before him in an instant of ecstasy the gates of all the ways of error and glory." (P. 200.)

Stephen's "instant of ecstasy" follows almost immediately his experience of the girl. He is no longer near her (as Dante was no longer

beside Beatrice in his final ecstasy), but "her image had passed into his soul for ever" (p. 200). Lying down upon the beach to calm his agitation, he is granted a vision of a rose of heavenly light which is a temporal image of Dante's rose of God (pp. 200–1):

> His eyelids trembled . . . as if they felt the strange light of some new world . . . fantastic, dim, uncertain as under sea, traversed by cloudy shapes and beings. A world, a glimmer, or a flower? Glimmering and trembling, trembling and unfolding, a breaking light, an opening flower, it spread in endless succession to itself, breaking in full crimson and unfolding and fading to palest rose, leaf by leaf and wave of light by wave of light, flooding all the heavens with its soft flushes.

Stephen's ecstasy is brief and Dante's is protracted, so that a thorough comparison between the two would necessitate a reading of the *Paradiso*'s last four cantos. Nevertheless, it is possible to gain some conception of the close parallel (in light, water imagery, shapes and beings, vast opening flower) from Dante's description of the rose's initial manifestation to him (XXX, 106–17):

> Fassi di raggio tutta sua parvenza
> riflesso al sommo del Mobile Primo, . . .
> E come clivo in acqua di suo imo
> si specchia. . . .
> sì soprastando al lume intorno intorno
> vidi specchiarsi in più di mille soglie,
> quanto di noi lassù fatto ha ritorno.
> E se l' infimo grado in sè raccoglie
> sì grande lume, quant' è la larghezza
> di questa rosa nell' estreme foglie?

Joyce's presentation of Stephen's climactic vision through symbolism strongly reminiscent of the *Paradiso* emphasizes the simultaneous opposition and kinship between Stephen's experience and Dante's. Stephen being inspired by primarily sensual feelings, the crimson rose represents his supreme affirmation of the "wonder of mortal beauty," in direct contrast to Dante's white rose of spiritual beauty. At the same time the analogy with Dante's rose enhances the tremendous significance of Stephen's. It is notable that Stephen, like Molly Bloom and Anna Livia, is granted his moment of supreme affirmation in the borderland between sleep and waking when the relaxation of the critical intellect presumably facilitates cosmic insights.[6] His twilight vision of a Dantesque rose of mortal glory, symbolizing his new comprehension of life's meaning, clearly implies that Stephen's ecstasy has for him something of the transcendent import that Dante's had for Dante.

Beneath the experience, however, lurks an ironic undertone that

becomes magnified in retrospect. The immediate effect of Stephen's conversion to the worship of mortal beauty is his realization of his true vocation. Dedication to art fills the place left vacant by his repudiation of the priesthood, and after developing an aesthetic theory applying Thomistic concepts to art for art's sake doctrine, Stephen is ready to write a poem putting theory into practice. The symbolic atmosphere surrounding the creation of this poem parallels that of his experience on the beach in almost every detail. Again inspired by a girl who is for the moment the centre of Stephen's emotional universe, the poem is composed in a like state of visionary ecstasy expressed by clouds, water, light, and most notably another Dantesque rose. Since this experience is more extensive and complex than its earlier counterpart, a close analysis of the symbolism through which it is conveyed illuminates the real conflict underlying Stephen's attitude and the irony of his ecstatic conviction.

Stephen's second vision simultaneously encompasses the three main levels of meaning associated with the rose: religion, woman, and art. Like its predecessor, it takes place in the borderland between dream and waking and unfolds in cloudlike rays of rosy light (pp. 254–5):

> Over his limbs in sleep pale cool waves of light had passed. He lay still, as if his soul lay amid cool waters. . . . His mind was waking slowly to a tremulous morning knowledge, a morning inspiration. . . . In a dream or vision he had known the ecstasy of seraphic life. . . . The instant flashed forth like a point of light and now from cloud on cloud of vague circumstance confused form was veiling softly its afterglow . . . deepening to a rose and ardent light.

Here the *Paradiso* is recalled by the imagery of watery light at the outset of Stephen's vision as well as by the emerging rose. Just as Dante's mystic rose of heaven first appeared to him as a river of light (E vidi lume in forma di riviera: *Par.* XXX, 61), so Stephen's second Dantesque rose now evolves from a dreamlike impression of light and waters.[7] The inescapable analogy with Dante is again made partly to mark the comparison between Stephen's experience of mortal beauty and Dante's of heavenly beauty. But as a symbol of specifically creative ecstasy, the rose of the *Paradiso* is still more suggestive. Not only is it the culmination of one of the world's greatest literary creations, but it also symbolizes therein the divine fulfilment of God's eternal creation. Stephen's exalted conception of the artist could scarcely have found more appropriate expression.

As the vision unfolds, further implications for art develop. Stephen's rose, like Dante's, becomes the Virgin's flower. And, in accord with

Stephen's customary conversion of spiritual entities to secular uses, the Virgin herself becomes associated with his markedly secular theory of art. The art for art's sake doctrine, already presented explicitly in Stephen's talk with Lynch (pp. 241–50), is here presented by symbolic indirection. The Annunciation is made to symbolize artistic inspiration (p. 255): "O! in the virgin womb of the imagination the word was made flesh. Gabriel the seraph had come to the virgin's chamber." And the Annunciation as symbol of poetic inspiration is presently complemented by the Eucharist, symbol of poetic composition (p. 260): " . . . transmuting the daily bread of experience into the radiant body of everliving life." Following Stephen's aesthetic theory, artistic creation is presented as a dual process in which inspiration first makes the word flesh (i.e., gives rise to an "epiphany" or illuminating insight), and artistic discipline then makes the flesh word (i.e., gives the insight "wholeness, harmony, and radiance," thereby moulding it into an aesthetic form).

It is notable that these concepts, here associated with Dante's flower of heaven and Mary, are again associated with a rose by Stephen's remarks in *Ulysses* (p. 385): "Desire's wind blasts the thorntree but after it becomes from a bramblebush to be a rose upon the rood of time. . . . In woman's womb word is made flesh but in the spirit of the maker all flesh that passes becomes the word that shall not pass away." Stephen, still identifying the artist with the divine Creator, still associates the rose with the process of artistic creation. Although he has now substituted Yeats's "rose upon the rood of time" for Dante's rose of heaven, there is small difference in effect. For Yeats's rose of Eternal Beauty, like Dante's rose of Eternity, symbolizes the beginning and end of art and life; and Yeats, like Dante, believed (or tried to believe) that art was a bodying forth of spiritual mysteries. Joyce, seeking symbolic expression for Stephen's secular aesthetics, continues to choose the most transcendental of literary roses to emphasize the supreme importance to Stephen of his doctrine of earthly beauty in art.

Beauty has become Stephen's highest value in life as well. Since beauty throughout the *Portrait* has been associated with women at least as much as with art, and since the sensual charm of a woman has been directly responsible for Stephen's conversion to mortal beauty, it is not surprising to find yet another woman involved in his creation of a poem. Again the rose as the Virgin's flower is important, and here the opposition to Dante is most strongly marked. Stephen's girl, who has inspired his creative ecstasy, is a virgin and a Catholic, "her life . . . a simple rosary of hours" (p. 254). But in his fantasy she becomes a

temptress awakening man's lust, a universal embodiment of all that is opposed to Mary (p. 255):

> That rose and ardent light was her strange wilful heart, strange that no man had known or would know, wilful from before the beginning of the world: and lured by that ardent roselike glow the choirs of the seraphim were falling from heaven. . . . Its rays burned up the world, consumed the hearts of men and angels: the rays from the rose that was her wilful heart.

In the sacrilegious spirit of the *fin de siècle*, this passage recalls the "mystical rose of the mire" of Swinburne's "Dolores" or the "rose that is rooted in hell" of Arthur Symons's "Rosa Flammae." Stephen, still preoccupied with the religion he is repudiating, has used Dantesque imagery to translate his sexual desire into anti-Catholic terms and to create of its object an inverted Virgin who is as potent a force for damnation as Mary is for salvation.

His conceptions of art and woman are, then, at this time inseparable. Both are aesthetic, sensual, and anti-Catholic, and both rest on the same infirm emotional foundation. Two further analogies complement the analogy with Dante in revealing the attitudes underlying Stephen's ecstasy. His idealized rose-woman, existing "from before the beginning of the world" and sending forth rays of beauty that "consumed the hearts of men and angels," echoes Yeats's "Rose of the World," who existed before there were angels "or any hearts to beat" and for whose beauty "Troy passed away in one high funeral gleam." Stephen's rose, like Yeats's, is at once the inspiration of his art, the particular woman to whom he is attracted, and the embodiment of his ideal of beauty; and Stephen, like Yeats, is limited at this stage by highly subjective, romantic, and immature attitudes which he too is later to repudiate. A passage from Joyce's own early essay on James Clarence Mangan completes the picture. Writing of the moving spirit in Mangan's poetry, Joyce describes it as a feminine symbol of ideal beauty, a "flower of flowers" remarkably similar to Yeats's or Stephen's:

> the presence of an imaginative personality reflecting the light of imaginative beauty is . . . vividly felt. . . . Music and odours and lights are spread about her. . . . Vittoria Colonna and Laura and Beatrice . . . embody one chivalrous idea . . . and she whose white and holy hands have the virtue of enchanted hands, his virgin flower, the flower of flowers, is no less than these an embodiment of that idea.[8]

It is significant that this essay was published in *St. Stephen's* for May 1902, a few months before Joyce's winter flight from Dublin and therefore at approximately the time when the autobiographical Stephen was composing his poem.

Despite his elaborate conversion to mortal beauty, Stephen is still in much the same frame of mind as the child who dreamed of a green rose that couldn't exist. He had set out to discover his "unsubstantial" ideal "in the real world," but sought it in Virgin and anti-Virgin, heaven and hell, ironically ignoring the solid earth in between. His adherence to the lush, world-weary romanticism of the 1890's reflects the introverted adolescence of his present emotional orientation, while his use of Dante in expressing rebellion against the Church reveals his continuing preoccupation with the religion he has rejected. Turning from the spirit to the flesh, Stephen has simply substituted one side of his conflict for the other without working out a satisfactory resolution. His reaction to woman is now a purely sensual thing and his artistic ideal does not go beyond the aesthete's hollow shell of formal beauty. He himself is dimly conscious of dissatisfaction when, at the very pinnacle of creative ecstasy, inspiration suddenly fails him (p. 260):

> The full morning light had come . . . he knew that all around him life was about to awaken in common noises, hoarse voices, sleepy prayers. Shrinking from that life he turned towards the wall . . . staring at the great overblown scarlet flowers of the tattered wallpaper. . . . Weary! Weary! He too was weary of ardent ways.

But he remains unconscious of the nature of his trouble, also hinted at in this passage. The awakening of daily life causes Stephen's roses to appear "overblown" because he cannot yet come to terms with that life. He is suffering primarily from an egocentricity that excludes charity, and he will achieve neither a true resolution of conflicts nor an adequate conception of art until his discovery of humanity, the subject of *Ulysses*.

A little epiphany towards the close of the *Portrait* illuminates Stephen's condition and serves almost as a forecast of his course in *Ulysses*. The epiphany is associated with a woman who is again a rose. Stephen and Cranly overhear a servant singing "Rosie O'Grady," and in Stephen's mind she is alternately related to each of his unreconciled conceptions of woman, the spiritual and the secular. He first envisions "the figure of woman as she appears in the liturgy of the church" (p. 288), thereby evoking the Beatrice-Virgin-Catholic aura of his earlier rose-women. The image passes and he later thinks of his girl, the rosy temptress of his recent villanelle, whom he now realizes he is losing to Cranly (p. 289): "Yes; he would go. He could not strive against another. He knew his part." But the singer herself is actually a typical Irish servant, a representative of the ordinary humanity from which egocentric Stephen holds himself aloof.

Cranly, well ahead of Stephen in tolerance and sympathy, unites all these women through the phrase, "*Mulier cantat*"; for in their fundamental kinship, which Stephen fails to comprehend, lies a potential resolution of his difficulties. Commenting on the lyrics of "Rosie O'Grady," Cranly attempts to point out to Stephen the charity that is lacking in his cold art and selfish life (p. 289):

> —There's real poetry for you—he said.—There's real love.—
> He glanced sideways at Stephen with a strange smile and said:
> —Do you consider that poetry? Or do you know what the words mean?—
> —I want to see Rosie first—said Stephen.
> —She's easy to find—Cranly said.

But Stephen is not yet ready to understand, can understand only his own isolation. Not until his comprehension of Molly Bloom, the ultimate rose of human life, will he learn what the words love and poetry mean and find his fulfilment "in the real world."

NOTES

1 William York Tindall, "Dante and Mrs. Bloom," *Accent*, XI (Spring 1951), 85-92.

2 Citations from the *Portrait* and *Ulysses* in this text are to the Modern Library editions.

3 Dantes, throughout his long career of vengeance, regarded himself as a veritable agent of Providence sent to punish his betrayers. Mercedes, the chief motive behind his fierce justice, was alone able to temper his vengeful excesses when they threatened the life of her innocent son.

4 An unresolved Oedipus complex also seems to be influential. In Freudian theory guilt over unconscious incestuous desires often results in a dichotomizing of women into pure women, placed in the mother category, and women who are sexually attractive but therefore evil.

5 See Hugh Kenner, "The Portrait in Perspective," in *James Joyce: Two Decades of Criticism*, ed. Seon Givens (New York, 1948), 147–8.

6 Cf. Yeats's "moment when we are both asleep and awake . . . in which the mind liberated from the pressure of the will is unfolded in symbols"—*Essays* (New York, 1924), 193; and T. S. Eliot's visionary lady "who moves in the time between sleeping and waking" (*Ash Wednesday*).

7 Water here also suggests rebirth, as has Stephen's wading in the first vision. His poem's completion employs similar imagery to indicate his rebirth as artist through acceptance of sex (p. 262): "Her nakedness . . . enfolded him like water with a liquid life . . . the liquid letters of speech . . . flowed forth over his brain."

8 Quoted in Herbert Gorman, *James Joyce* (New York, 1948), 76–7. Joyce borrows "flower of flowers" from Mangan's "Dark Rosaleen," a version of the traditional Irish song, allusions to which are also present in Yeats' rose poems.

Man and Industry THE IMPACT ON HUMAN WELL-BEING OF A RAPIDLY EVOLVING INDUSTRIALIZATION

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An Adventure in Action Research

Charles E. Hendry

The first session of the Round Table on "The Impact on Human Well-Being of a Rapidly Evolving Industrialization" was held in the Senate Chamber of the University of Toronto on Monday morning, October 22, 1956. In his opening remarks as chairman of this Round Table, Crawford Gordon Jr., President and General Manager of A. V. Roe (Canada) Limited, outlined both the purpose and the plan of the project:

In an era of great scientific, industrial and economic advance such as Canada is experiencing today, it becomes increasingly apparent that the fullest development of our physical resources is more and more dependent upon a corresponding development of our human resources.

Man is still the key to all progress and if we are to maintain our present rapid economic progress, we must be as much concerned with the study of the strains and stresses on man as we are with the physical technology and all the material aspects of our society.

In the achievement of supersonic speeds, for example, the aircraft industry has to solve the human problems connected with these conditions as well as the aerodynamic problems. At 1500 mph the friction of the air flow raises the temperature of the skin of the aircraft about 300 degrees F. Even if the outside temperature were 50 degrees below zero, the temperature rise is such that the metal would still be 40 degrees above the boiling point of water. Hence, a cooling system must be devised not only to permit efficient operation of the aircraft but equally important, to make it possible for the crew not merely to function but to live at all.

Hence, the problems of the human being are of as great concern as the strictly physical problems of aerodynamics, metallurgy, armament, etc. Increasingly, we are becoming as dependent upon the biological and social sciences as we are upon the physical or natural sciences.

If we in Canada are to avoid the mistakes of other countries where industrialization on a large scale occurred much earlier, if we are to create an industrial civilization that brings the utmost in human good as in material goods, we need to develop a much keener appreciation and deeper understanding of the human situation. Our social inventions and technology have

lagged behind our physical inventions and technology. We can close this gap by stepping up our involvement in, and grasp of, social science research and its application through enlightened social policy. This Round Table Conference can be a most important factor in bridging the gap which exists, and hence is important to all Canadians.

In the first place, the Round Table is concerned with the human aspects of our expanding economy. It is a reminder that as we approach a Gross National Product of $30 billion the fullest development of our physical resources is dependent on a corresponding development of our human resources. I hope the Round Table will spell this out in specifics and point the way to sound social policy.

Secondly, the Round Table offers a welcome opportunity for collaboration between a university and the larger community, and more particularly, between representatives of industry, labour, government, the social sciences and the service professions. No one group has a monopoly of knowledge or wisdom. We must pool our understanding and our best judgment if we are to guarantee the utmost in human well-being as we enlarge and improve our industrial technology.

Thirdly, the chief reliance in this Round Table is on research. The tendency to date has been to throw the bulk of our support behind physical research. In recent years we have begun to invest more adequately in medical research. But we lag far behind in our attitude towards our social sciences and their application in both social policy and social practice. One of the ways in which this Round Table can make a fundamental contribution is in demonstrating over these next two years the very practical value of psychology, sociology, anthropology and political science as well as economics, geography and history.

Finally, the fourth reason pointing up the importance of this Round Table is the interplay between discussion in the academic setting on the campus, on the one hand, and on the other, the field study in the industrial setting in the impact areas. The emphasis will be on trying to ascertain what is really important, to go out and study the human situation as it is affected by industrialization and then to sort out our findings as a preliminary to more intensive and systematic research. This is a kind of action research in which the questions and answers are not left entirely to the professional researcher. We can all get into the act.

It is for these reasons that this Round Table is to continue over a period of two years meeting for five days on three occasions at twelve-month intervals. It differs considerably from the conventional conference. It is not going to be just another bull session. It places a premium on continuity, on progression, and on a combination of research and action.

It is important to see the Round Table also within the context of its university setting and to be reminded of the place of a professional school in this relationship. The central purpose of a university is to transmit, test and extend the body of human knowledge. These functions involve encouragement of independent scholarship and research; work

towards an effective integration of knowledge; and the facilitation, so far as possible, of the application of knowledge to man's age-long quest for human fulfilment. The purpose of a professional school such as a school of social work, within this framework, clearly is to pursue the purposes of the university with particular reference to its special area of responsibility and competence. This requires emphasis alike on the development and disciplined practice of the profession and on leadership, both within the profession and in the larger community, focussed sharply on the conservation, protection and development of human resources.

One of the distinguishing marks of a professional school at the graduate level in a university is that it must be problem-oriented. It will, of course, engage in fundamental research. But its responsibility must also go beyond pure research, however erudite and disciplined the scholarship involved. In relation to professional practice, research and social policy, it must sink its academic roots deep down into the soil of social concern.

One of the ways in which the University of Toronto School of Social Work has attempted to achieve its objectives has been to use the technique of the round table. The first Round Table under the initiative and leadership of the late Dr. Harry M. Cassidy, director of the School from 1945 until his death in 1951, was held in 1947 on the problem of "Economic Security." A second Round Table was held in 1948 on "Social Security." Membership in these Round Tables was by invitation only and was restricted to top policy leaders in government, industry, labour, universities and professions. Two consultants with outstanding qualifications were included on both occasions. The sessions were held in the Senate Chamber of the University.

The composition of these Round Tables was unusual. Cabinet ministers from the federal government and several of the provinces, and, in some instances, their deputies, were included. Representatives of management and labour participated. University administrators and especially heads of certain social science departments were also involved. Lay and professional leaders active in the fields of health and welfare completed the membership.

No formal papers or presentations were made. No formal record was kept of the proceedings. The Round Tables were, in fact, privileged, off-the-record and completely free discussions at a high level. They served a most useful purpose and exerted a not insignificant influence on the thinking, attitudes and activities of some of the participants. Satisfaction with the Round Tables was quite general. The round table

method evidently offered a welcome opportunity in a congenial setting to exchange critical concerns and to explore formative ideas with the comforting assurance that a round table was a forum only and nothing was "for keeps."

Pressures of many kinds prevented Dr. Cassidy from holding a third round table. Heavy assignments involving technical consultation with government, business, labour and professional organizations, combined with his regular university and school responsibilities, left little time or energy for special undertakings of this kind. Furthermore, fatal illness had set in and knowing that his days were limited, Dr. Cassidy wanted to give a certain priority to United Nations' missions in Egypt and later—though his work there was never consummated—in Burma.

It took time to steady the ship, as it were, after Dr. Cassidy's death. Inevitably, however, as his colleagues undertook to get back on course, it became clear that the round table idea would not be abandoned.

Finally, in 1954 a third Round Table was convened. It differed in two respects from the previous endeavours. The number of participants was considerably enlarged and a substantial work document was prepared as a basis for discussion. The theme selected was "Social Implications of the 1951 Census of Canada." By arrangement with and through the generous co-operation of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, a 64-page pamphlet was printed expressly for use at the Round Table containing relevant tables, graphs and explanatory text. An indication of the calibre of the participants is reflected in the fact that the summary at the final session was given by Canada's Deputy Minister of Finance. An account of this Round Table is contained in an informal report published in *Canadian Welfare* (D. V. Donnison, "Social Implications of the 1951 Census in Canada," *Canadian Welfare*, vol. XXIX, no. 8, March 15, 1954, 5–12).

Emphasis on research documentation had by now become a matter of established School policy. This was made evident in the establishment of the Cassidy Memorial Research Fund. Harry M. Cassidy had become Canada's most outstanding leader in the social welfare field, and following his death a representative nation-wide committee under the chairmanship of A. E. Grauer, President of British Columbia Electric Company Limited, launched a campaign to establish a $200,000 Research Fund as a memorial. Associated with Mr. Grauer were four co-chairmen, Harold M. Turner, then President of Canadian General Electric Company Limited; Douglas W. Ambridge, President of Abitibi Power and Paper Company Limited; Beverley Matthews, corporation

lawyer; and the Honourable Wilfrid Gagnon, President of Dow Breweries Limited. Under their leadership a successful fund-raising campaign was held.

Because those concerned with the development of the research programme of the Cassidy Memorial Research Fund were anxious to benefit from the experience and advice of others in shaping policy, determining priorities and developing appropriate administrative procedures, a fourth Round Table was held in 1955 on "Research Planning in Social Welfare." As in the third Round Table, a preliminary work document was prepared. Some sixty persons were invited, including representatives of foundations and organizations with extensive experience in research planning and administration. This Round Table may be said to have been the first of its kind in Canada.

When an evaluation of this fourth Round Table was undertaken, it seemed desirable to make an assessment of all four Round Tables. Two firm conclusions were arrived at: (1) the round table idea had been demonstrated to be of great value and should be continued, and (2) the Round Tables thus far revealed one major limitation—there had been a discontinuity in subject-matter and, to some extent, in membership.

Accordingly, several decisions were taken. To command and sustain collaboration at a high level a theme of consequence and challenge had to be chosen. In view of Canada's phenomenal economic expansion and of mounting concern over its social implications it was decided to direct attention to "The Impact on Human Well-being of a Rapidly Evolving Industrialization." To ensure the involvement of a representative group of leaders in Canadian life it was decided further to distribute not more than 120 invitations among five broad occupational categories, finance and industry, organized labour, government at all three levels, social sciences and the human service professions—architecture, education, engineering, journalism, law, medicine, the ministry, nursing, social work, town planning, etc.—all of which were represented in the membership of the 1956 Round Table. Regional, sex and age distribution was also taken into account. Encouragement was to be given primarily to those persons who declared their intention of participating in the Round Table for three sessions of five days each at twelve-month intervals. In this way it was hoped to guarantee sustained collaboration over a sufficient period of time to permit the necessary research and to produce substantial results in consensus, group decision and continuity.

Planning for the Round Table on "Man and Industry" began in the spring of 1955. An extensive memorandum, including a projection of

the budget required, was used to enlist the support of University officials and certain key citizens. Official university approval was given and steps were then taken to create the needed organization to advise and assist the University and its School of Social Work in carrying through the programme. Under the chairmanship of Crawford Gordon, Jr., a General Advisory Committee was formed which included the following members: Senator Donald Cameron, Frederick G. Gardiner (Chairman, Council of Metropolitan Toronto), H. Carl Goldenberg (consultant on combines; federal, provincial and municipal government problems), Walter Gordon (President, J. D. Woods & Gordon Limited), Richard L. Hearn (then Chairman, the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario), Claude Jodoin (President, the Canadian Labour Congress), David Mansur (President, Consolidated Toronto Development Corporation), Wallace McCutcheon (Vice-President and Managing Director, Argus Corporation Limited), Neil J. McKinnon (Vice-President and General Manager, the Canadian Bank of Commerce), Miss Marion Royce (Director, Women's Bureau, Department of Labour).

Supplementing the General Advisory Committee, an Administrative Committee was created, chaired by David Archibald (Executive Director of the Ontario Alcoholism Research Foundation) and made up of a vice-chairman and the chairman of five sub-committees concerned with programme, research, promotion, publicity and arrangements. The members of the Administrative Committee include the following: W. Preston Gilbride (Eastern Group Manager, Great West Life Assurance Company), John S. Morgan (Professor, School of Social Work), Albert Rose (Professor, School of Social Work), Murray G. Ross (Professor, School of Social Work and Executive Assistant to the President, University of Toronto), Bryan Vaughan (Vice-President, Public and Industrial Relations Limited), Robert S. Willson (Director of Personnel and Public Relations, General Foods Limited).

To staff the operation in its initial stages, Mr. Burne Heise, child welfare specialist and former Ontario deputy minister of welfare, was appointed as administrative assistant. In September 1956, a full-time director of research was engaged in the person of Dr. George M. Hougham, formerly asistant director of the Citizens Research Institute of Canada and the Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research. The services of temporary, part-time research associates were secured to prepare "profiles" of six "impact areas": the St. Lawrence Seaway, Iroquois Falls, Blind River–Elliot Lake, Malton, Scarborough, and Downtown Toronto.

Consultative conferences were held with representatives of a variety of voluntary organizations and with federal and provincial government department specialists, as well as with individual advisers, and from these persons panels of consultants were drawn to assist particularly in the areas of programme and research planning.

A chief consultant in the person of Sir Geoffrey Vickers, V.C., M.A., was appointed in July 1956—to serve also as a special visiting lecturer in the School of Social Work during the Fall term. The Director of the Round Table had a two-day conference with Sir Geoffrey in September 1955, at which time the basic plan of the project was discussed. Prior to his arrival in Canada early in October 1956, Sir Geoffrey was in regular communication with the staff in Toronto by mail. Happily, he was present for the final planning and for the briefing of group leaders.

The six group leaders were assigned to the six areas to be studied, and in their briefing Mr. Frank Jeckell (General Manager, Dominion Brewers Association), played an important rôle as training consultant. The six group leaders were: Anthony P. C. Adamson, Professor, School of Architecture, University of Toronto (Iroquois Falls); George S. Mooney, Executive Director, Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities (St. Lawrence Seaway); Robert E. Oliver, Supervisor of Public Relations, Bank of Nova Scotia (Downtown Toronto); Albert A. Shea, Director, Core Company (Scarborough); R. K. Stratford, Scientific Consultant, Imperial Oil Limited (Blind River–Elliot Lake); and Miss Bessie Touzel, Executive Director, Ontario Welfare Council (Malton). In addition to the group leader each group had attached to it the writer of the "profile": S. D. Clark, Professor, Department of Political Economy, University of Toronto (Scarborough); Oswald Hall, Professor, Department of Political Economy, University of Toronto (Blind River–Elliot Lake); Mrs. Alison L. Hopwood, now Research Assistant, Housing Branch, Ontario Department of Planning and Development (Downtown Toronto); Terry O'Brien, Executive Director, Children's Aid Society, Cornwall (St. Lawrence Seaway); Donald M. Paterson, Research Planner, Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board (Malton); Morton I. Teicher, Director, Department of Social Work, Yeshiva University (Iroquois Falls). All members of the Round Table were assigned to their "impact area" groups in advance. At the same time each member also received a copy of the "profile" of his "impact area."

An informal reception was held Sunday evening October 21, 1956, by Mr. and Mrs. Crawford Gordon, Jr., to provide an opportunity for members to meet in advance of the formal opening session on Monday

morning. Promptly at nine o'clock Monday morning the Round Table was convened in the Senate Chamber of the University. The Chairman gave a brief address and then introduced Sir Geoffrey Vickers who spoke on "The Needs of Men." This address—reprinted in this supplement—provided a brilliant redefinition of the human situation in the light of the continuing industrial revolution of the past two hundred years. Its purpose was to provide historical perspective, sociological awareness and philosophical insight; a kind of assessment of the condition of man today, midway through the twentieth century.

Sir Geoffrey Vickers was followed by Dr. Sidney Smith, President of the University, who gave much more than a routine word of welcome. Excerpts from the President's remarks on this occasion are here included in the record:

> I congratulate you who are participants in this Round Table for having sufficiently distinguished yourself in your own field of endeavour to warrant an invitation—which I understand to be a rare privilege—and on your wisdom in accepting our invitation! Whatever may be your opinion of Arnold Toynbee, who at the moment seems to be the recipient of more than his share of barbs from critics, he has undoubtedly contributed some highly revealing ideas about society. One of these ideas is that of the creative minority—that small group of inventive and creative people without whose effort a community or nation withers and decays. I do not mean, of course, a social élite, but an élite whose intelligence and wisdom and vision make it possible for them to initiate and to lead in the society in which they find themselves. In a sense, this group is a creative minority—a group of leaders, in a time of prosperity, when many men are content to be counting their capital gain, seeking to discover better and more effective ways of living together. Your presence here suggests an urge to explore, to create, and to serve. It is an affirmative response to life, the kind of attribute which gives continuity to life—as implied by some wise Bostonian:
>
> The Adams were born to say
> "Yes" to life
> Not to nod in negative,
> Else their predecessors might
> Have killed themselves
> Eons ago.
>
> My own conviction is that the kind of problems you are to consider at the Round Table are appropriate for study within the University. There may be some who say that such matters are no concern of universities and that we must remain apart from current social strife and unrest. Now it is true that we cannot permit the University to be turned inside out because the world is upside down. We must maintain some aloofness if only to retain our sense of perspective and some capacity for objectivity. But the Uni-

versity must be close to developments in our community and in our country and make some contribution to the solution of the problems which exist therein. We cannot resign from the twentieth century! Over 300 years ago, John Hall, parliamentarian of Gray's Inn, submitted a petition for educational reform which he called "An Humble Motion." One of his major recommendations was that the university should be "changeable and accountable every yeare." It should "examine and pursue experiments—compleate and actuate new inventions"; allow the wings of knowledge to "take great flight" and provoke some "syderial and flaming souls to their full and meridian lustre." The Round Table provides for "great flight"—(both physcial and mental!)—and I hope some "flaming souls" will reach their "full lustre," so that if, as Hall suggests, we are to be "accountable every yeare," we will be able to report on your endeavours.

May I say one more word. Your first task, I realize, is to formulate the questions which you are to study. I hope you will be satisfied with nothing less than bold and courageous facing of fundamental issues. What is the nature of the malaise which appears to grip some parts of our society? What is its cause? What is its cure? I hope also that you will not be deceived into thinking such problems as exist reside in the lower economic classes. If I read *Crestwood Heights* correctly, it is that in this community of big houses and small lots, nature is far removed, and the typical family tends to be an isolated rootless unit in time, divorced from its earlier generations and unaware of its past. In Crestwood Heights there is a marked cleavage between the way of the world and the way of the spirit. I urge you, therefore, not to confuse some of the symptoms you see with the disease. Push your first questions back and back, until you reach the real issues.

Each member of the Round Table was introduced and presented with a work kit and the Director outlined with some care the total plan of operations. He reminded the members of the Round Table that they were entering only upon the first stage in a two-year exercise. This first stage involved reconnaissance—going out into actual "impact areas" and identifying problems created or accentuated by industrialization which deserved fuller understanding through more systematic and intensive research. He explained that each group would sort out and report on its findings on their return from the two-day field visits. The six reports would be discussed, processed through various stages of refinement and in due course translated into specific research projects. An important step in this process, an analysis of the "Implications for Research" by Dr. Murray G. Ross, is included in this supplement.

At this point a word about support for the Round Table is perhaps indicated. This Round Table is strictly a Canadian operation. The essential costs are covered by a graded fee structure. Representatives of business and industry pay a subscription of $300 for each of the three sessions, or $800 if payment is made in advance. Representatives from

other categories pay an annual fee of $100, a total of $300 for the three sessions over the two-year period. Scholarship funds and supplementary research funds are provided through special contributions, the first of which was in the form of a research grant from the Cassidy Memorial Research Fund. The University itself contributed substantially in services and facilities.

The visits to the "impact areas" were generously supported by the Abitibi Power and Paper Company, the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario, Mr. Franc Joubin of Franc R. Joubin and Associates, A. V. Roe (Canada) Limited, Johns-Manville Company Limited, Frigidaire Products of Canada Limited, the Township of Scarborough and the Toronto Board of Trade. In each case transportation and entertainment were provided. Many individuals and organizations in each of the "impact areas" visited also extended helpful co-operation.

On the opening day of the conference, the six field groups were entertained by friends of the Round Table: the Bank of Nova Scotia, the Great West Life Assurance Company, the Canadian Bank of Commerce, the Southam Company Limited, Argus Corporation, and Burns Brothers & Denton. Mr. Crawford Gordon, Jr. was host to the entire Round Table for the opening dinner which was held jointly with the Canadian Club of Toronto on the first day. At this time his Excellency, the Honourable Livingston Merchant, United States Ambassador to Canada, gave the address. The closing luncheon at the Park Plaza Hotel was contributed by the Ford Motor Company of Canada.

Recently, Dr. H. F. Horeig (Manager, Research and Development Department, Dupont Company of Canada) stated that "to support one research man in our laboratory costs about $25,000 a year. To assign this man to an applied research programme, management needs to see a worthwhile objective which can be obtained within ten years. To assign him to a fundamental study requires that management expects to be in business for another twenty-five to a hundred years." No such formula has been suggested in the social sciences, but it is reasonably safe to assume that the investment required is not substantially less. This means, therefore, that to implement the research programme which will be developed out of the first session of the Round Table will require substantial investment on the part of all parties concerned, and particularly, business and industry which have such a direct stake in the outcome.

Actually, the problem of money, though very real, is likely to be less critical than the problem of man power. Qualified social scientists who

can be recruited on short notice for a research operation such as is here projected may be few and far between. Much will depend on the co-operation extended by university departments; in some instances, assignments will have to be arranged either on a part-time basis or during the summer recess when faculty members are freer to engage in special projects.

It may well be that some of the research projects that will emerge will require a longer period than two years to complete. Wherever possible, arrangements will be made to have any such projects undertaken under conditions which will ensure adequate financing and administrative support. It is impossible, in advance of knowing precisely what these research problems and projects are, to be more specific in anticipating requirements.

The future research of the Round Table may also require a somewhat special type of programme. In his comprehensive summary and analysis of the research implications, Dr. Ross has set forth various types of research and various approaches or patterns that might be adopted. During the first session of the Round Table a number of persons representing various government departments, professional organizations and other community agencies offered research data, research facilities, or research staff and invited exploration of how best active collaboration might be established which would make it possible to co-operate with the Round Table in the joint pursuit of some of the research projects.

What lies ahead? The broad outlines are already clear. Before the 1957 session of the Round Table is held next October the first stages of continuous research will have been undertaken under the direction of Dr. George Hougham, with the advice of a Research Committee and panels of consultants. As pointed out by Dr. Murray G. Ross in his summary statement on "Implications for Research," research must necessarily be separated from the educational and the action aspects of the project. Heavy reliance will be placed on qualified personnel drawn from the social sciences.

Before finally determining the questions to be examined and the design of the various research projects to be undertaken, the Research Committee of the Round Table will have been able to study the reports of each of the groups that visited the six industrial "impact areas" and the comments of the members of each of these groups on the initial draft of the reports. In addition, the Research Committee will have the

record of Sir Geoffrey Vickers' summary and observations on these reports as presented on the closing day of the 1956 session, as well as the statement by Dr. Ross referred to above.

All members of the Round Table will be kept in touch with developments. This does not mean that decisions relating to the prosecution of the research programme require review or approval by members of the Round Table. Such decisions are the responsibility of the research staff and the appropriate committees carrying special responsibility and authority. The fact that the project is being conducted within the framework and under the auspices of a university provides assurance that the independence and scientific freedom of the research staff are fully protected.

The second stage of the total undertaking involves bringing the members of the Round Table into session again in the fall of 1957. The purpose of this session will be to make interim reports on the research going forward, to move out a second time into selected industrial "impact areas," not necessarily the same six originally studied, and to develop greater sensitivity, clarity and conviction concerning the human aspects of a rapidly evolving industrialization. It is anticipated that the research programme of the Round Table by this time will have advanced to a point where it will contribute to this process. It is also anticipated that Sir Geoffrey Vickers will again be present in his capacity as chief consultant. As may be apparent in reading Sir Geoffrey's opening address, members of the Round Table have come to expect that he will open up new avenues of perception and perspective.

The third stage of the project is a logical extension of the first two. Following second visits to the industrial "impact areas," and with the added support of the proposed research operation, it may then become possible to define more deliberately and systematically those aspects of the situation which are most relevant to social policy. The structure of the final Round Table session will require a very different design from the first two, and it is difficult to know at this point precisely what kind of arrangements will be appropriate.

In determining the next steps the Director of the Round Table will be guided by advice and counsel from members of the Advisory Committee, the Administrative Committee, the Research Committee and the consultants selected because of their expertness in social science research. Care will be taken to discriminate between what is clearly educational in character, what involves service of one kind or another quite outside the jurisdiction of the Round Table as such, and what involves

social action. It is necessary to recognize, however, and to accept the fact of interdependence between the research function and the other functions above identified and enumerated. This Round Table is a departure from what might be regarded as the conventional or orthodox approach to social science research. The entire project is conceived in terms of action research and this assumes several important points. The first is that the questions involving research are formulated in terms of the concerns expressed by members of the Round Table. Much of the research, in other words, will be directed towards problems on which the citizen wants help. The second point is that the qualified research worker will have full authority and responsibility to re-define and re-state these problems in such a way that sound research can be undertaken. The final point is that members of the Round Table in their capacities of interested persons will be encouraged and enabled at appropriate stages in the research to become involved in an understanding of its process. Through collaboration of this sort it may become possible for all members "to think as men of action and to act as men of thought."

No one who has had experience in social science research, or in professional fields such as social work which depend heavily upon the social sciences, will be unaware of the difficulties likely to be encountered in a dynamic approach such as is here envisaged. One of the most penetrating and brilliant discussions of the general problem of the relationship between the so-called "expert" and the "layman" in this context is to be found in the highly significant and timely publication *Crestwood Heights* (authors: J. R. Seeley, R. A. Sim, E. W. Loosley; University of Toronto Press, 1956). In this volume, and in other scholarly papers, the senior author, John R. Seeley, has carefully delineated the extremely complex and delicate problems involved. In a sense, the Round Table is in itself an experiment in communication—an adventure in which one must rely on the ability of social scientists, and the leaders of business, government, labour and the professions (who are responsible for the development of social policy or for the administration of various community services) to communicate effectively with each other. It would repay any one seriously interested in the Round Table undertaking to read thoughtfully the relevant passages from *Crestwood Heights* (Parts Three and Four, especially pp. 411–413) on this subject.

The test of any undertaking must be related directly to its aims and purposes. This Round Table is designed to enable those responsible for policy-making and administration to collaborate more closely and effectively with social scientists and specialists in the human service

professions, to transcend some of the stereotypes that block full communication and co-operation between the two groups. The result sought is the development of greater sensitivity and skill on the part of all participants in identifying and understanding the human problems of industrial expansion and in thinking through and defining some of the relevant implications.

Three sessions of five days each, spread over a period of twenty-four months and interspersed with research activity, places critical limits on what can be accomplished. Inevitably, every member of the Round Table brought different expectations with him to the first meeting. In a few cases the experience itself may have proved disturbing or perhaps disappointing. On the other hand, some of these very persons in the process of the first five days of discussion, observation and discovery revised their expectations, deepened their motivation, and achieved a more realistic grasp of the total assignment.

The Needs of Men

Sir Geoffrey Vickers, V.C.

This is a great occasion. Other nations have been driven to forecast their future by threats of imminent disaster; but few have been moved to do so, as you are doing today, by the promise of unexampled prosperity. So I salute the insight of those who have organized this operation and I am indeed grateful to them for giving me the opportunity to take part in it.

The accent of today is on urgency. You, who meet here this morning, many of you for the first time, have the inside of a week in which to explore two critical areas of doubt, involved, subtle, difficult and obscure. You have to explore the problem which stands at the head of our work paper; what are the impacts on human well-being of a rapidly developing industrialization? But you have also to explore your own and each other's preconceptions about what this question means. What do you regard as the conditions of well-being? What does industrialization imply to you? And what is your idea of that process of development of which it is part? We need to know our own and each other's answers to such questions, if we are to understand each other when we talk; and we need good answers, if we are to talk to any purpose.

These questions would not be asked if we retained our grandfathers' or even our fathers' faith that rapid industrialization would automatically make for fuller well-being. We feel a double doubt—doubt about the impact which industrialization may have on our way of life; and doubt about the conditions which we need to create or preserve against its impact. These doubts are rooted in experience.

Industrialization bears us along on a torrent of sequential events, which work incessant and irreversible change. Elsewhere, these changes have often set to government and business one unforeseen problem after another, sometimes reducing their policy to a series of reflex actions in response to successive unforeseen threats of disaster. Will you too become the slaves of the forces which you are unleashing?

It depends, I believe, on you. Initiative is like money; we may get some by luck but we only keep it by good management. Today you are rich in initiative; you have had a windfall of it from nature and from history. You have, I believe, today a real and rare chance to choose. That is why I rejoice that you should be reflecting how to use and how to keep it, before it has been wholly committed without your knowledge.

The impact of industrialization depends in part on the forces which drive it, still more on how and how far these forces are controlled. Today it is proceeding most rapidly in the Soviet Union, with Mexico a good second. There are important differences between the process in the two and between each and the situation in my own country. Your own problem is again different. Yet despite these differences, the underlying problems are, I believe, common to all of us. Industrial development has shown itself everywhere to be a vastly de-stabilizing force. Each phase sets running a sequence of changes which tend either to prove self-defeating or to create conditions which men find intolerable; and the situation which emerges from the resultant crisis has so far proved no more stable than its predecessor. With one hand industrialization offers abundance and leisure; with the other it often frustrates enjoyment of them. It has even been known to offer luxuries with one hand and to withdraw necessities with the other—or so it has seemed to me when I have seen above smoke-grimed roof tops a forest of television aerials in an atmosphere lethal with industrial wastes. In every country where it has run a course of any length, there has sprung up, often in the teeth of the prevailing political creed, a jungle of devices to control its unforeseen and unintended threats to the well-being of man and society; whilst those countries which have only recently set foot on this bewitched path, whether the Soviet Union or China or India, control the forces they release with a rigour which is still unknown to us. What is it about industrialization which sets this universal problem?

The answer, I think, is simple. Industrialization tends to make a progressive impact on four areas of great importance to human well-being. It changes and restricts our living space; it divorces our social from our economic life; it changes our aspirations and especially our concepts of status and success; and it erodes the structure of expectations which underlies both our sense of security and our power of foresight. It is no wonder that governments, whatever their political colour, have been forced to take notice of such an unpredictable genie among their household servants.

I call it a genie, not a devil. To suppose that our new power must

necessarily destroy us would be, I think, as mistaken as was our grandfathers' naïve belief that it must necessarily bring us blessing. What it does is to present us with new choices; and often with choices which we have neither experience nor machinery for making. The history of past decades in all countries where industrialization has been moving ahead, whatever their political system, has been an exercise in devising means for saying "no" to trends which threatened human values, individual or social; and from this exercise there is emerging a clearer view both of the values which are worth protecting and of the methods of protection which are not themselves self-defeating.

I invite you, then, to consider the impact of industrialization on the four areas I have mentioned: on physical living space; on the relation between life and livelihood; on our ideas of status and success; and on the bases of our sense of security and our power of foresight. I chose these areas after reflecting on our experience in my own country and before I had been able to read the profiles which are in your hands today. When the first drafts of these reached me, I found it a strange experience to read in those six vivid and disturbing stories the same grim lessons, the same sinister warnings which we have found in our own national history for a century past and never more clearly than now; to find in them the same paradox of self-defeating success; to be faced with the same question—"With all this effort what in terms of human value are we getting and what in terms of human value are we paying for it?"; and to find the answer haunted with the same uncertainty.

II

I shall illustrate these cyclical trends from the course of affairs in my own country. For more than a hundred years we have been experiencing for good and ill the effects of rapid industrialization. Our population increased during that time from 20 to 50 million. Our productivity per head, which is, I suppose, as good a measure of industrialization as one can readily find, rose rapidly during the period and is still rising; in the last seven years it has risen by an average of more than 5 per cent per annum. During those ten decades Parliament and public opinion have been exercised over a great variety of threats to our well-being, which seemed to spring more or less directly from this phenomenal change. Here are some of the most conspicuous in the first of my four areas, that is, impact on living space.

First those basic natural resources, earth, air and water, once taken

for granted, have become limiting factors. Our activity poisons the air, pollutes the water and lowers its level, and competes for the use of the land; and these impacts on our resources in their turn limit our activities. So choices are posed which were never posed before. To which use shall this land be committed? How much impurity shall we tolerate in our rivers? How much will we sacrifice for the sake of cleaner air? These questions pose real issues of valuation—real, because they make apparent the fact (which is always true) that we can have more of what we want here only at the cost of having less somewhere else. You have a saying, I believe, on this side of the Atlantic—"Nothing is impossible." It is a brave saying but it would be more true, though less snappy, if it read—"Nearly everything can be achieved at a price." And the price is always the giving up of what might have been done instead. However many our possibilities, we can choose only one at a time. We can spend time, money, life only once. Industrialization does not invalidate this ancient truth; it merely buries it. We are unearthing it at enormous cost.

The unplanned commitment of our land surface made its earliest and most obvious impact on our well-being through its effect on the size, structure and amenity of our towns. The country town, serving as the centre of a rural area, was linked to that area by the services it supplied and could not outgrow the area which supported it. Industrialization cut off the town from the country and hence from any local limitation on its size and linked it to markets far afield. The towns expanded incontinently and became overgrown, ugly, unhealthy and unstructured, ill suited to live or to work in. This posed a number of choices which had never been posed before and which could only be answered collectively. Fundamentally, they all came down to the question—"In what physical conditions do you want to live and what are you prepared to give up in order to have them?"

Towns based on mutually supporting local needs had an innate social coherence; the new industrial towns had not. The extreme examples of incoherence were the dormitory suburbs which grew up between the wars, devoid of all facilities for social life—agglomerations of dwellings without meeting places, without places of entertainment, without churches, even without shops. The need to correct these mistakes has inspired the current developments of town planning and the experiment of our New Towns Act, under which we are building fifteen new towns, each planned as a whole to contain diversified industries and to provide what we now believe to be the physical conditions of well-being at home

and at work. No less than twelve of these are to relieve the congestion of London.

Among the new choices thus posed one concerns the importance of beauty. We are forced to ask ourselves—"Is beauty necessary to you? If so, what will you sacrifice in order to have it?" Our response, such as it is, has been to establish national parks and green belts, to preserve many old buildings, to raise the aesthetic standards of building control and even to narrow by a little the gulf which still separates the architect from the engineer.

These problems are, of course, equally real for you, conscious though you are of all the empty miles which stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the American border to the Pole. For the commitment of land is an enduring act, most hard to reverse; and mistakes in one place are no easier to cure because there are vast areas of uncommitted land elsewhere. We sit today, I understand, in one of the most swiftly growing cities in the world. Your profiles have been well chosen to reveal that this distinction is not a matter for simple pride but rather the index of an urgent threat.

For in its effect on our physical living space industrialization makes its first great impact on our individual and social lives and especially on those two primary social groups, the family and the neighbourhood. Our experiments with the new towns, for example, are experiments in recreating these two groups. We have learned their value in theory from the psychologists and anthropologists and in practice from the bitter experience of having them disrupted.

We all accept today the importance of the home, both in bringing the child through the earlier crises of adjustment and in transmitting the changing culture of the community. In theory, industrialization should provide better physical conditions for the home than were formerly possible either in town or in country and we are slowly realizing these possibilities in practice; but we do so painfully, by ceaseless war against conditions which a previous industrial age created and in part through institutions which that previous age detested—for example, by building through public authorities, by controlling and subsidising rents, sometimes even by letting at differential rents related to tenants' incomes. (I learn from one of the profiles that here in Toronto you have done the same.) In our experience a rapidly developing industrialization does not provide the sort of homes and physical living conditions which its age requires and can afford, unless social policy sees that it does. It does not even provide the conditions which its own continuance requires. For

example, all children in their later years at school, and most young people in their early years of employment need to work at home several evenings a week if our technological age is to man its own future. How many have homes in which you or I in their place could do so?

Again, we all accept today the importance of the face-to-face community, the community which actually meets. More than forty years ago a psychologist, writing of the primary groups in which people live, said that in them "human nature comes into existence. Man does not have it at birth; he cannot acquire it except through fellowship and it decays in isolation." What is the impact of industrialization on these essential groups?

The neighbourhood is no longer all-sufficing. In an industrial society a man belongs to many groups; his workplace, his club, his professional organization, his church, his public life and a dozen other activities may all involve him in different circles of social contact; road, rail and air extend his possible social radius so that he measures in miles what his grandfather measured in yards. We are accustomed to assume that this increase in variety is all gain; but I think this is to oversimplify the problem. We should not assume that to be more varied is to be more rich. I suspect that it is not; but we need more evidence on this than we yet have.

Of one thing I feel fairly sure: that the local group remains socially important. It remains to be seen whether those which we are recreating have the same virtues as those of the pre-industrial age. One type poses, I suspect, a particular problem: it is the community which grows up around a single industry or even a single enterprise. Your profiles describe two, one in embryo at Elliot Lake, one with a history behind it at Iroquois Falls. They reveal that planning has its problems, not less than planlessness. A friend who had to do with the building of one such place in Canada, its dwellings carefully grouped and graded according to the industrial status and income of those who would live there, said, "We always called the top executives' bit 'Snob Hill.' " I wonder whether it will earn its name, and if so, whether the planners will be to blame.

Thus once again, industrialization faces us with a new choice. We have to control—or deliberately to renounce control over—something which formerly simply happened. Another variable has been brought within our ambit and with it, as always, comes the need for means to control it and the need for knowledge to control it aright.

III

I turn now to my second "impact area," the impact of industrialization on the relation between life and livelihood. In an agricultural community social life, economic life and family life form a highly integrated pattern. Industry disrupts this pattern, not always so dramatically as at Malton; I choose a few aspects which deserve at least to be carefully appraised.

The demands of work are often directly disruptive of family life. Economically, it is desirable that expensive plant shall be kept in use for twenty-four hours a day; but socially it is undesirable that members of the same family or even of neighbouring families should work, sleep and enjoy themselves at different times. Economically, it is convenient that holidays and rest days should be staggered; socially, it is important that they should not be staggered. Economically, in days of full employment, it is desirable that mothers with children should go out to work; socially, a recent inquiry in my country listed this among the major adverse influences on children today. Economically, it is convenient that, as business reaches out ever further and more actively, more fathers of families should spend more and more of their lives in trains and planes; but socially, it is, I believe, highly desirable that they should usually get home in the evening. Which interest should prevail?

The impact is even more universal than this. Those who start industries in countries still not industrialized find that their new recruits have strange and inconvenient habits. They work at an irregular pace; they take days, even weeks off, to hold or recover from sprees of various kinds. Worst of all, they regard their material needs as constant; are content when they have earned enough to provide for these and, thereafter, are so perverse as to "buy leisure." Industrialists regard these perversities as bad habits and consult the psychologists on how to overcome them.

But turn back a few centuries in European countries, seek out even today the more backward corners of the industrial world, and you will find the same habits. They were once regarded as the natural, the normal, the necessary. The ideal workman in a modern industrial plant is a highly abnormal creature. At what cost are we inducing in him these industrially convenient habits?

In these persistent clashes, the economic interest invokes the magic word "efficiency"; and this still has a potency which seems to me out of date. What is the good of economic efficiency if it does not enable us to be socially efficient? Should we not be proud, rather than ashamed,

if we could afford to keep the most up-to-date plant standing for twenty hours out of the twenty-four, so that we could all do our four hours' work at the same time? Is it not worth developing communications to the point when we can hold meetings of faces and voices without meetings of bodies, merely for the social and personal gain of dispensing with enforced travel? These dreams may be beyond my own country today, because of the singular and precarious conditions on which we earn our daily bread; but need they be beyond yours? Why, in any case, do they seem not merely remote but also wicked? For the same reason, is it not, that honest men in my country not so long ago thought it wicked to ban underground work for women and to limit the hours of labour to twelve a day. Our economic system as such is not set to realize the ends which it makes possible. Indefinitely self-exciting, it can produce ever more for the same effort; but it cannot pay any other kind of dividend, except in so far as the demand is formulated in a market wider than its own; I mean that market of ideas and evaluations through which a self-governing community chooses its goals.

I have been suggesting that the demands of industry are in many ways inconsistent with our social needs and should therefore be refused, whenever we can afford to refuse them. But there is another aspect of industry, which is very different. Industry is itself a society. It associates men in defined and structured rôles; it offers all the satisfactions and the frustrations of social life. In earlier phases of industrialization this was too often ignored, with results as disastrous for industry as for society; but today the social responsibility of industry does not need to be argued. What is at issue in my country is the extent to which industry should be allowed to do its social duties.

Many, for example, are opposed on principle to the building of houses by employers for their workpeople, on the ground that houses should be grouped and distributed on the basis of social, rather than industrial need; and they are the more opposed if the house is tied to the job. Some look askance at social activities organized round the workplace, the firm's athletic club, dramatic society and so on, preferring that such things should be rooted in the living community, rather than in the working community. Whereas not so long ago the worker all too often lived and worked in two communities, the workplace and the neighbourhood, neither of which provided for his social needs, today the two often compete to be the centre of his interest.

This is a subject about which it is unsafe to generalize.

There are many communities in which the employer is so dominant

that it would be impossible, even were it desirable, to separate the social from the economic community; Iroquois Falls is a vivid example. Personally I welcome the meeting of two sides of life which only industrialization divorced. The danger of an all-pervading paternalism is real but I believe can be avoided. For example, in the nationalized coal industry of my country all social activities are under the control of an organization run jointly by management and organized labour; for this is regarded as a field where joint control is logical and desirable, though in the field of management, joint control is excluded.

IV

More subtle and more important than anything I have yet mentioned is the impact of industry on our ideas of status and success. We need to attain and keep without undue anxiety an acceptable status in society; and by "acceptable" I mean that it should accord us the sense of playing a rôle appropriate to us. Since economic status is increasingly for the individual to win for himself, it is an index of success. If an industrial society links its criterion of status and success too closely with economic status and success, the repercussions on human well-being may well be severe. Suppose, to take an extreme example, a society in which no worker in industry is rated as fully successful unless he finishes as president of the company; virtually all would necessarily rate as partial failures. This would be acceptable only to those who regard endemic discontent as a necessary stimulus to effort and think that an almost universal sense of failure among men as producers is a reasonable price to pay for an ever increasing dividend to men as consumers. This is surely one of the strangest and most misconceived valuations even of our own confused days.

It is thus, I suggest, important that status and success shall be rated in many dimensions and that economic valuation shall not be the only yardstick; for there is no hope of using economic means for social ends if in our common valuations economics is an end and not a means.

In my own country, for good or ill, industrial status is still, I think, undervalued. The professions retain, as against business, what is perhaps an undue prestige. Much more important, unpaid service of many kinds offers alternative routes to status and respect, which are open to and used by people from all walks of life. The whole of our National Health Service, for example, an undertaking with an annual budget of well over £400 million, is run by unpaid committees. Nearly all criminal

and quasi-criminal cases are heard in the first instance—and usually disposed of—by unpaid and amateur judges. Local government attracts an immense and increasing amount of unpaid service, not merely in its elected bodies but also in co-opted or appointed bodies such as children's care committees; so does the Trade Union movement and the organizations which control the professions. Voluntary organizations are legion. Little if any of this work brings any material advantage, direct or indirect, yet it attracts men and women of all classes. As ways of getting things done, some of these national habits would be viewed askance by a time-and-motion-study man; but they ensure that status and success have several forms and that one form or another is within the reach of many whose economic status brings them no distinction. I think it worthwhile to draw your attention to those aspects of life outside the economic field, which are felt by those who do them and by others as being not mere distractions but "worth doing" and thus an avenue to status and success. For they have a bearing on the important question of how to use our increasing leisure.

There are those who fear the advent of "mass leisure," either on the ground that the majority of men cannot live effectively or even harmlessly without the discipline of work or on the ground that leisure will come more quickly than we can learn to use it. We need to analyse with care what lies behind these fears.

Some, when they praise the discipline of work, are simply approving the fact that most people for most of their lives are not free to choose what they will do. This is constraint, not discipline; and many cultures impose constraints no less rigid on the apparently leisured, prescribing just as rigorously, though more subtly, how they shall spend their time.

The cultures which have governed leisure classes in the past have varied greatly both in the range and in the character of the choices which they have encouraged or permitted; and the results have differed as widely as, for example, the ages of Pericles, of Richelieu, and of Walpole. In the partly leisured nations which are emerging, the same variety may be seen. We need not doubt that modern societies will develop cultures to pattern the leisure activities of their members. What matters is the quality and coherence of these cultures. I do not doubt that they might range from a new age of Pericles to Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World."

Whether we need fear the swiftness of the advent of leisure depends on the speed with which we expect a given society to assimilate cultural change. The maximum pace at which leisure can increase is set today

not by the rate of invention, but by the rate of accumulation of the capital needed to set it to work. The most optimistic forecast which I have read, even for the optimistic land across your border, predicts a 30-hour week by 1976. Such a rate of increment should not overwhelm a society where high standards of leisure-spending already exist; but in one less well-equipped it might be disastrous.

Hence the importance which I attach to such standards of value as already exist in the leisure field. I have mentioned those of public service. More neglected, perhaps, are some of the personal and social accomplishments in which the leisured of earlier days excelled and delighted. Among the most important of these I would include the ability to charm and amuse each other; the ability to rest; and the ability to be happy alone.

The arts we need to cultivate are not for the most part commercially exploitable, and there is some ground to fear the deadening and stereotyping effect of commercialized leisure; but we could, I think, tilt the balance the other way. Consider what the long-playing record has done for musical appreciation. Even the millions of amateurs who "do it themselves," whether "it" is gardening or boat-building or house decoration, would do less and less well, if the market did not smooth their path so well.

We can spread the table of leisure with more varied opportunities than were ever known by the most privileged leisure class of the past. How far these will be narrowed by social convention depends not on the increase of leisure as such, but on the course of development of each society. We value differently the leisured societies of Periclean Athens, of eighteenth-century England, and of the France of Louis XIV; and our own developing leisure cultures may show differences no less great. These cultures are with us now. The seeds of the future are already sprouting and they are by far the most important indices that we have to watch. For through these opportunities, more than any other, we can help to safeguard the independence and variety of the human person against the encroaching stereotype of industrial man.

V

It remains to discuss the fourth and most difficult area of impact. I suggested that industrialization erodes the structure of expectations underlying both our sense of security and our power of prediction.

We can hardly exaggerate the importance in our lives of expectation. Social psychologists would have us regard society as a structure of

mutual expectations. All our moral values can be expressed in terms of what we expect of ourselves and each other. Both our effectiveness and our peace of mind depend very much on our being able to rely with confidence on a running forecast of what is going to happen next. How much we depend on this ability we realize only when we lose it. Gross disparity between reality and expectation appears both as a cause and as a symptom of mental disturbance in the clinics of the psychiatrists; and experimental psychologists can reproduce these disturbances in animals by building up and then frustrating their expectations. What we learn to expect of our environment, our fellow men and ourselves controls our lives; and we learn it most readily in youth.

It follows then that if the nature or even the mere pace of industrialization affects this structure of expectation, it may work us harm in several ways. I have in mind four in particular. It may make us individually less effective. It may impede our communication. It may prevent a healthy relationship between the generations; and it may subject us to undue emotional strain.

Consider our proceedings today. I began by suggesting to you that you had probably brought with you to the discussion of these great issues different sets of assumptions and preconceptions and that you would not be able to communicate effectively until you had compared and refined them. These assumptions and preconceptions are the expression of expectations built up from recent experience; and I have been suggesting to you that they may be false guides to the future. The more rapid the rate of change, the harder it is for any of us to furnish ourselves with an effective set of expectations for the future and the less likely that any two of us will hold the same set.

Clearly there is a threshold here, which we cannot pass with impunity. We cannot easily forecast where it lies; for it is not absolute. It depends not only on the rate of change, but also on our skill in dealing with change. But it is there and there is a point at which it will limit absolutely our power both to predict and to communicate.

More important, perhaps, than this intellectual barrier is what I would call the cultural barrier, if you will accept that word in a more narrow sense than has been common in the past. It is becoming clear that, even within one closely knit people, there are sub-cultural differences which strangely persist. Occupations have their sub-cultures, none more so than mining; but localities also may have that about them which makes them slow to assimilate new entrants in any number. In my

country the mines of South Yorkshire were developed quickly some forty or fifty years ago, largely by the immigration of miners from other coalfields. None could have been distant more than 250 miles; yet the South Yorkshire coalfield has a character notably different from that of the West Yorkshire coalfield, a few miles away, which was developed only a little earlier but more slowly and hence with less "immigrant" labour. If we can identify problems of immigration within our closely knit population, you must find it a greater problem.

Perhaps an even greater problem is the relation of the generations in a time of rapid change. If a culture is to persist, changing with changing times yet retaining enough coherence at all times to serve its purpose, then the changing generations have an essential part to play; the old transmit, the young adapt; and what they transmit is in turn adapted. A penumbra of uncertainty necessarily surrounds the advancing edge of change; but confusion follows if it spreads too widely, as every revolutionary period has shown. Clearly, here too there is a threshold which the rate of change cannot transgress with impunity, however beneficial its direction. We cannot afford to make a world in which everyone is clueless after thirty.

Finally, we must bear in mind the emotional stress of uncertainty, due to the failure of expectations or the lack of any basis on which to formulate them. Mental stress is an exceedingly imprecise concept but it seems clear that in those prosperous countries where life should be easiest, the casualties from mental causes are not lower but higher than elsewhere. The springs of human well-being are more subtle than we know.

I know of no area in which it is harder to strike the balance in credit and debit with industrialization than in this field of health. In industrialized countries the expectation of life at all ages but especially at birth has notably risen. For this most would give the chief credit to the simple fact that an ever larger proportion of their children get enough food, air and rest. Even the control of infection probably stands second to this; and industry can claim most of the credit for the first and essential share in the second. These will remain among its most important contributions to human well-being.

Yet merely to be alive is an inadequate criterion of health. The constitution of the World Health Organization declares that health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.

I know no doctor who is at ease with the concept of positive health. Disease can be recognized as departure from a norm but how to recognize positive health as a theoretical ceiling, situated above that norm at an uncertain distance and in more than one dimension? We can acknowledge their difficulty as scientists and still feel that the World Health Organization is right in reminding us that health is not a norm but a form of individual excellence. Industrialization can create its simplest conditions; and in countries where these do not exist, it must be of first priority to create them. Where they do exist, the further progress of our "health" must look elsewhere for guidance and may find that industrialization, its earlier help, has become a hindrance.

VI

I have examined four fields in which rapid industrialization seems likely to affect our well-being to its detriment. Has the inquiry thrown any light either on the process of development or on the nature of well-being? Among the thoughts which it has suggested to me I offer you the following as likely to be useful guides in your deliberations.

I see development as a process of interaction. I regard a country as the interaction of a people and a land; a society as the interaction of men with men, mediated by their structure of organization and institutions and by their continuing yet ever changing culture; even a single individual as the interaction within the organism itself of the changes evoked by experience with the ever growing structure of past experience. These processes are linked with each other and all, of course, are extended in time. Government, whether political or social or personal, I regard as the regulation of this process with the double object of maintaining its coherence and of directing its course; and self-government as the happy state when the system, be it a nation or a society or a personality, is so adjusted that it performs this dual function spontaneously.

The concept of interaction corrects an idea prevalent in our recent past, false and dangerous as I believe yet far from dead, that man observing, planning, exploiting, can himself remain apart, unchanged by the forces which he releases. We know that this is never true, even in the interaction of man with the inorganic world. That treasure of minerals in the Laurentian Shield will let you alone, so long as you let it alone and no longer. As you develop it, so it will develop you, as the coal measures in my country have left their mark not only on the land-

scape but on the lives and characters and institutions of those who developed them.

In this interaction industrialization is, I have suggested, a profoundly destabilizing force. At the most comprehensive level, where the interacting forces comprise everything from the bacteria in the soil to the thoughts in our heads—I shall call it the ecological level—it contrasts sharply with the agricultural phase which went before, a way of life equally dynamic yet the most stable yet evolved by man. An agricultural way of life is based on a continuing partnership of man with nature such as our present era cannot yet dream of achieving. And because ours is based not on partnership but on exploitation, its progress tends to breed its own reversals.

This instability is not confined to its own field. We have seen that it affects also our social interaction and even that inner structure of expectation on which our personal stability depends.

It follows, I think, that we must learn to attach a true meaning and a just importance to the concept of stability, both as a good in itself and as a condition of further development. This word found little place in the vocabulary of the nineteenth century and even today it is ignored and misunderstood. The Committee on American Resources set up by the President of the United States a few years ago, and commonly known as the Paley Committee, in the fascinating early chapters of their report —which I regard as the Athanasian creed in the canon of the American Way of Life—testify to their faith in expansion; and, asking themselves why they hold this faith, answer that they see no alternative to expansion except stagnation and decay. In the whole of their report the concept of stability does not appear, save, perhaps, in one half-wistful reference to their countrymen's unwillingness to "accept the status of a mature economy."

Yet, conceived as dynamic balance, stability is a condition of all development and indeed of all the activity of living things; for in the world of life, a world essentially dynamic, stability can be nothing but dynamic balance. We can tolerate variations of external temperature within a range of a hundred degrees only because the internal heat of our bodies is held constant within a degree or so by the ceaseless activity of a net of adjusting devices. Thus even our physical mobility depends on the dynamic balance of our body heat and of course on scores of other balances besides. At the other end of the scale, our further material expansion, in England at all events, seems to depend on our finding a way to maintain two stabilities, which are equally examples of

dynamic balance—stability of employment and stability of money values. And if we ask an economist to define the conditions in which we can have both, he will specify certain types of behaviour on the part of both management and labour, behaviour which calls for stabilizing mechanisms in ourselves and our society, which we do not yet possess. Conceived as dynamic balance, the concept of stability is the governing concept of our age.

We must then revise radically the nineteenth century's idea of progress. They desired political and social progress but they believed it would follow automatically from material expansion. The concept of balance they ignored. They were able to do so only because the human species was expanding in a new living space so vast that its boundaries were for the moment below the horizon: a physical space formed by the opening of your own and other continents; an economic space formed by the new possibilities of production and exchange. They were not lucky in that freedom; it led them to mistakes which can never be reversed. Who was ever lucky to be able to act without counting the cost?

There are three strands in the idea of progress: betterment, which is its object and its criterion; expansion, which is its servant; and balance which is its condition. This is clear enough today; but you, more perhaps than any other nation, have the initiative to act upon it. For a country like India, where the population, already short of food, may double in twenty years, expansion may still be paramount. Even for my country, dependent for its daily bread on competing with success in a world market of finished products, economic efficiency is still a task master who leaves us little initiative. But with you it is different. You have already a standard of living as high as any in the world; yet few, if any countries have such rich undeveloped resources. You have for the moment initiative, a real opportunity to choose. It is of all gifts the most rare, the most precious—and the most embarrassing.

For it raises my second question, which I have left to the end. Do we know what we mean by well-being? In the rare moments when we have a choice, have we any criteria to choose by? Philosophically, this is a difficult question; but I think we can find some elements of an answer if we approach it historically. As a matter of history our political ideas of well-being have evolved by implication from a series of protests against their manifold opposites. Liberty is more than the absence of tyranny; but tyranny taught us to value it. Similarly our current English concept of the Welfare State was formulated in a report which took as

its basis the need to abolish the five "giant evils" of squalor, unemployment, ignorance, sickness and want. Conditions of ill-being are recognizable because at their extreme they destroy the society which they condition; and long before that point is reached, their badness has ceased to be a matter of doubt. No one in Britain argues that Lord Beveridge's five evils are concealed goods or an acceptable price for something else.

It is easier, then, to identify the conditions of ill-being than the conditions of well-being; and we can regard the pursuit of well-being, politically speaking, as beginning with the charting of those limits of ill-being which need not be and should not be transgressed. Even this negative goal is by no means easy to attain; at least three difficulties bedevil it.

First, negative goals are not constant; they do not stay put. We do not suppose that, when the five giant evils have been subdued, there will be no more giants to conquer. Some new ones are already in sight; and among them some created by the attack on the existing five. This, I think, will always be so; there is no finality in the fixing of negative goals.

Secondly, negative goals give no continuous guidance; they warn but they do not direct. So, unless they can be foreseen long before their threat has darkened the sky, our evasive action will be certainly expensive and possibly too late. The stabilizing devices of the engineer are prone to a disorder known as "hunting." Pursuing their goal, they never hold it but swing across it, sometimes in widening oscillations. Political and social systems often do the same; and so do individuals. If we would avoid this, we must bring into relation our self-induced rate of change and our capacity for dealing with it.

Thirdly, negative goals, like positive goals, conflict. All our values may claim to be absolute at the bar of morality; but the politician is lucky if he is free to choose between goods, rather than between evils. Politically, the question is how to ensure that we shall make the new choices which industrialization brings in such a way as will best express our current idea of human well-being and will further our search for a better. For the conditions of human well-being must be continually sought through our answers to the ever changing questions which life puts to us. So perhaps the most unchanging values are those which give us the best chance of answering aright.

To these I think history gives us some clue. Looking back on the social history of my own country, it seems to me that, where we have

acted or failed to act in ways which we have subsequently regretted, the chief cause has been sluggishness in our responses; and this has shown itself in two ways. The first and most important is delay in recognizing some new feature of the situation which has become important. We did not opt for slums but we got them; and so did you, as is shown by some of the studies in your hands. The explanation is not lack of information, so much as lack of attention. And this again was linked to the lack of machinery for action. Such machinery was easy to devise, once we realized it was wanted; but its absence blinded us to the need for it. We attend only to those aspects of the situation which we are accustomed to do something about.

Now it is a feature of industrialization that it continually puts to us new choices, which we are ill-equipped to make and hence ill-equipped to recognize. We are also unwilling to recognize them; for, whereas we like new industrial techniques for their newness, we dislike new political and administrative techniques; we are as reluctant to experiment with them as we are glad to experiment with new machines and processes. We have some reason for our fears but we must face the fact that we cannot have the one without the other. As we change our physical world, so we shall inescapably change our social world and our personal world. If we cannot keep them in phase, we shall meet disaster.

Yet we should not have been so slow as we were, if our reactions had not been blunted by another factor. Obsessed by the habit of thinking of men functionally as producers, consumers, voters and what not, we forgot to think of them primarily as human beings. Blinded by the success of the division of labour, we forgot that individual men and women must at all costs remain whole. These are the cardinal dangers of industrialization and of the functional way of thinking which it engenders.

Fundamentally, then, I believe that the limiting conditions of our system are states of our own mind. The unending debate which we call democracy depends for its efficacy, not on its techniques but on the conditions necessary to its growth. One of these is the freedom to spread facts, however unwelcome, and to express ideas, however unpopular. In your country, as in mine, there are constitutional safeguards against this right being suppressed; but these do not ensure that it will be exercised. Among its essential safeguards is the corresponding duty, of which so much less is heard, to attend to unwelcome facts and to examine repellent ideas; and this, as we all know, requires mental discipline of a kind which is all too rare for our needs.

The second condition which seems to me essential to democratic functioning is that quality of sensitivity to others, which determines how far our behaviour will be affected by our sense of what is happening to them; and we can measure it by its intensity and by the range over which it extends in both space and time. We may expect much or little of this faculty, but, whatever we expect, we are bound, I think, to accept it as one of the limiting factors on our capacity to live together in a changing world.

The decisions in which we express our sense of what matters most are not simple discriminations between good and bad. They are choices between a limited number of concrete alternatives, none ideal, sometimes none even acceptable. In making these decisions we exercise whatever control we have over our conditions and learn whatever we are capable of learning about how to choose better in future. Even more important, the way we choose today goes far to decide what choices will be open to the next generation.

Many such issues are latent in the situations which you go out to examine tomorrow. It is not for me, a stranger, to try to formulate them, still less to answer them. I only commend to you in all diffidence those qualities of mind and spirit which seem to equip us best for what is an unending voyage of discovery; and on your voyage I wish you God speed.

The Social Consequences of Uranium Mining

Oswald Hall

This paper draws on the "profile" of the uranium mining region around Elliot Lake and Blind River which I prepared for the Round Table on "Man and Industry." Also, it offers an evaluation of the relations between the visiting team and the people studied; it indicates the kinds of impressions gained by the visiting team, and comments on the subsequent discussion sessions.

The region adjoining Elliot Lake has emerged as the centre of operations for the mining of uranium in Canada. The community which arises there will face an unpredictable future, for its fortunes and misfortunes will parallel those of atomic power. This community is being planned specifically to accommodate the people who will be engaged in the extraction of uranium. It has no visible secondary reasons for existence; it will be a classic example of the one-industry town. In the early stages of its development much will depend on the faith and enthusiasm of its initial planners.

Their plans for its development are almost as spectacular as has been the history of its industrial base. When the uranium discoveries were made in 1953, the present town-site was a bit of almost unknown wilderness. By the end of 1957 it is anticipated that a community of twelve to fifteen thousand persons will be established in all its essential aspects. Such rapid growth, on such a scale, is something relatively new in the history of the growth of Canadian communities.

In mid-1956, the community is still in the planning and developmental stage. Although there is little to observe at the moment, there are good reasons for studying a community scheduled for such fantastic growth. In so far as the tempo of industrial development in Canada seems likely to quicken over the coming years, the rapidly growing community may become the normal, rather than the uncommon, occurrence. At the moment a few of the features of the emerging community

can be dimly envisaged, as can the relations of the new community to its older neighbours. These are set forth in the following presentation.

THE AREA

Elliot Lake is one of the uncounted bodies of water that dot the map of northern Ontario. Until the discovery of uranium in its vicinity, it had nothing to distinguish it from its neighbours. Even two years after coming into prominence, it is still identified largely by its proximity to Blind River. The latter community is near the centre of the stretch of Highway 17 that connects Sault Ste Marie and Sudbury. The whole stretch of road, roughly two hundred miles, is notable for the ruggedness of the terrain which it traverses. It passes through a very sparsely populated section of the country; the motorist can drive the whole distance without stopping once for a traffic light. Blind River, with a population of approximately 3,000, is one of the few relatively large communities scattered along this stretch of highway.

The newly established community of Elliot Lake is situated on the south shore of the lake bearing that name. To reach it, one follows Highway 17 for twenty miles eastward from Blind River, and then proceeds fourteen miles northwards along the recently established construction road. This road is reasonably adequate for the initial needs of industrial development, but not for comfortable driving. It is tortuous and strewn with rocks and wrecked cars. From Elliot Lake the road winds in even more rugged fashion north eastward for another fifteen miles to the Quirke Lake area, the present end-point of the uranium mines. By the end of 1956 a modern highway will replace the construction road, and within a year this will be paved.

The History of the Area

The territory around Elliot Lake has a long history of settlement. The Hudson's Bay Company had posts at such points as Blind River, trading with the then considerable Indian population along the north shore of Lake Huron. The hills, valleys and streams of the Canadian Shield favoured the development of lumbering in the area. Communities sprang up, fronting on Lake Huron, and making use of early water transportation. In 1882, the Canadian Pacific Railway pioneered a rail route along the lake shore, providing more flexible means of communication. Later, the same route was followed by the highway, which opened up the area as a region for the hunter, fisherman and tourist.

In 1953 a rush of prospecting began in the area, probably the greatest rush in the history of prospecting in Ontario. In point of time the history of uranium in the district antedates this rush considerably. As far back as 1847, samples of rock from the North Shore region had been identified as pitchblende, but the discovery elicited little interest until a hundred years later. In 1948 attempts were made to locate the early occurrences, and prospecting soon moved over the whole area from Sault Ste Marie along the lake to Blind River. Here, in Long Township, in old rock cuts blasted thirty years before, a good deal of radioactivity was apparent, but no high-grade ore was discovered. The source of the radioactivity was assumed at this time to be thorium.

Credit for the eventual discovery is due to Franc Joubin, whose curiosity about the high radioactivity prompted him to do some romantic scientific work. He went back to the area in 1953 and re-tested the materials for uranium, again discovering negligible amounts. The same ore was then tested for thorium, which likewise was present in negligible quantities. From this he deduced that the radioactivity must be due to deeply buried ores, whose leaching was responsible for the surface radioactivity. The only significant test for such an hypothesis would be a substantial programme of diamond drilling. This was undertaken, and immediately established the area as one of the greatest uranium-producing camps in the world.

During the summer of 1953 claims were staked by the hundreds, and exploratory work was started on many. By March of the following year the first of the mines (Pronto) announced its intention of sinking a shaft. By June, the work was begun; by December, it was completed; and by August of 1955 ore from the mine was going through the mill. Just twenty-nine months had elapsed from the first exploratory drill hole to the beginning of mining operations.

Other mining properties have been developed with similar rapidity. By March 1956, the federal government had authorized contracts for the purchase of almost half a billion dollars' worth of uranium oxide, the contracts running through to the year 1962. (Meanwhile, the volume of contracts has approximately doubled.)

These developments made it essential that a community be formed to meet the needs of the substantial work forces anticipated. At present, it is estimated that about 4,000 mine and mill workers and their families will be attracted to the uranium area. The Department of Planning and Development of the Province of Ontario drew up plans for the organization of such a community.

The Physical Basis of the Community

In this rugged terrain there are few potential town-sites. Aerial photography was used in the first instance to pinpoint possible locations. The mines are rather widely scattered over an area of approximately four hundred square miles. Within this extensive region it was considered necessary to locate one central community; for this purpose an area of two or three square miles, one or two thousand acres, seemed necessary. Eventually, after all the mapping had been completed, only one area was found that would provide the minimal characteristics of a town-site, i.e., reasonably level terrain, adequate soil overburden, low water tables and straightforward watershed features.

To secure all these features in one solid block of land proved impossible, and as a consequence the over-all plan for the community envisages a series of neighbourhoods which will be separated from each other by the rocky outcrops, the low lying, poorly drained land, and the sharp slopes which are the dominant characteristics of the northern Ontario terrain. The community will therefore lack nothing in the way of enduring green belts. Rather, it will exist as a series of interwoven areas of housing nestling where they can upon a rugged landscape.

Each of the housing neighbourhoods will be relatively self-contained, and will be adequately supplied with service institutions to take care of the daily needs of the population. One central commercial area will be articulated with the residential areas, and will provide the more specialized services needed by a community of this contemplated size. Any subsidiary industry that arises in connection with the development of the community will be localized; the residential life, the commercial life, and the industrial life of the community will be spatially separated but interconnected by an ingenious road system.

The major industries (the uranium mines and their dependent mills) will all be located at considerable distance from the town-site proper; they will be connected to the town-site by the highway mentioned earlier. As already indicated, they cover a substantial area. The first developed, Pronto Mines, is adjacent to Highway 17; it is so far distant from the contemplated town-site that it will probably share scarcely at all in the life of Elliot Lake. The other mines, though widely dispersed around the new community, will be completely dependent on the central community for all but the most essential services. Around the mines there will be housing for a score or so of key personnel, but otherwise the working forces of all the mines will be centrally located.

The over-all design for the area, restricting all construction to one centre, will occasion considerable travelling for the miners and mill workers. The alternative would be the emergence of a series of individual town-sites, an almost prohibitively costly undertaking in such an environment. Controls have been established to prevent the emergence of the substandard types of housing found generally in mining towns on this continent. If these controls are effective, there will also be almost none of the sprawling ribbon development so characteristic of communities in general across the country.

Political Structure

In September 1955 a municipality was organized by order of the Ontario Municipal Board, and given the title of the Improvement District of Elliot Lake. It comprises approximately 369 square miles, and includes the majority of the mines operating in the area. The administration is vested initially in a group of three trustees appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor. As the community develops and the potential local leadership becomes apparent, the present board of trustees will turn over the responsibilities of administration to residents of the area. A town clerk and an assistant are resident at the town-site, and handle the administrative details at the local level. The appointment of a local board of trustees will simplify and expedite administration considerably.

The local board of trustees will in its early days be drawn entirely from the personnel of the mining companies and from whatever commercial and professional personnel become rooted in the community. At the moment there are no settled workers. When these exist in substantial numbers, there may be a demand for some form of elected body to take the place of the present appointed board of trustees. There is already in existence an effective union organization which acts as a bargaining unit. If this becomes active politically, the community may eventually display a set of special interest groups, in which the industrial leaders, the commercial personnel, the professional cadre, and organized labour will be distinguishable elements.

The organization of a far-flung municipality, embracing both the mines and the urban centre, will provide initially a substantial tax base to support whatever civic ventures are undertaken. For the moment, the interests of the urban centre and the industrial areas are common, if not identical. In the course of time, as the urban area becomes permanently settled, its interests and those of the large industries are likely

to diverge progressively. What happens in this direction will undoubtedly be reflected in changes in the political structure of the community.

Population

In many of its salient features Elliot Lake is starting life as a planned community. However, it has never been possible to plan *all* aspects of the life of any community; moreover, the difficulties of adhering to a plan usually deepen as time goes on. In the case of Elliot Lake, it will not be possible to prescribe what sorts of migrants will or will not be admitted. Yet, in the course of time it is precisely the characteristics of the population that give the main pattern and coloration to a community. In the sense that Elliot Lake is a one-industry community, the population is, of course, highly selected; it will represent a very narrow group of occupations. However, in terms of the *cultural* and *social* backgrounds of the migrants to the area the community is at the mercy of forces beyond its control.

The urgent demand for workers to man the new mines will mean that an intensive recruitment programme will be undertaken. The problem of attracting workers to the area will be very acute with respect to hard-rock miners. The relatively high wage scale of the uranium mines will probably permit employers to draw men from the gold fields, where wage rates are correspondingly lower. However, there are no great surpluses of such miners available; in the past, the hard-rock mines have had to import workers from Europe to maintain even inadequate work forces.

It remains to be seen just which segments of the mining population will be mobilized to come to the new area. Italians have predominated in the group that has migrated from Europe to the mining areas in recent years. It may be that the most recent group will also be the one most ready to move again, but there are few guides on which to make guesses. The initial group may be exceedingly, even distressingly, mobile from the point of a view of the employer who is looking for stable workers; employers report rates of labour turnover of from 15 to 50 per cent per month. These high rates stem in part from the relatively large number of single men in the work force, men who lack the stabilizing effect of a family to support and move. On the other hand the married men who have not been able to move their families to the area are likewise quick to move out again.

For the mill jobs, the employers can tap the local labour reservoir. In so far as the population of the nearby areas is predominantly made

up of French-speaking Canadians, associated with the forest industries, the mines and mills will inadvertently acquire a work force largely French-Canadian in background and orientation. However, the older workers from nearby may be loath to try work in a new industry. It is said that many of these people cannot work without the smell of sawdust in their nostrils. Probably only the younger people can be attracted to the jobs in the uranium mines and mills, and this of course gives a distinctive, if temporary, character to a population.

It usually happens that the distinctive ethnic groups of a community come to be associated with a characteristic group of occupations. Thus jobs in the actual promotion of large-scale business, jobs in the organization of business and finance, and engineering jobs involving considerable responsibility seem generally to fall to the lot of the Anglo-Saxon. By contrast, the French-Canadian has tended towards the promotion of small family businesses and towards jobs of a lower level of skill and training in the industrial hierarchy. Such distributions of peoples among jobs are likely to be blurred and concealed in the anonymity of the metropolitan community. But in a small one-industry community the distribution of jobs among peoples becomes highly visible; moreover, the various ethnic groups in the community are likely to become acutely conscious of their place in the job distribution.

Jobs in mines and mills are men's jobs; consequently, the labour force of the community will be overwhelmingly masculine. The one-sex community, be it academic, religious, military or industrial, tends to develop a uniform set of characteristics. Its forms of recreation, its standards of consumption, its use of leisure time, its participation in local enterprises, one might even say its morality, underscore the fact of a skewed sex distribution. At the moment, the presence in the community of substantial numbers of construction workers, occupied in the construction of the highway, and at work on the emerging mine sites, tends to give the new community an even more pronounced pattern of masculinity. It remains to be seen whether the developing labour forces adheres to this pattern or achieves a more balanced sex distribution.

Finally, the character of the community will be heavily influenced by the class make-up of the population. Contrary to popular belief, the populations of our communities tend to sort and sift themselves into distinctive strata or classes with noticeably different standards of consumption and divergent tastes and outlooks. The preponderance of one or another of the social classes is perhaps the most distinctive mark a community displays. In most communities the various classes in the course

of time become allocated to specific residential areas, giving to the community the Snob Hills, the Immigrant Rows, and the masses of monotonous middle-class housing characteristic of our cities. In many cases, social classes correspond roughly with ethnic stocks, thus giving a doubly noticeable imprint to the residential areas of the community.

Elliot Lake is being planned as a set of homogeneous neighbourhoods. It remains to be seen whether or not these become typed as having a definite class level, and whether specific neighbourhoods come to be looked on as the locale for distinctive language and religious groupings. The emerging social, political, recreational, and educational patterns of the community will hinge on just such developments. Though much is being planned in Elliot Lake, it is clear that many major developments are not amenable to the kind of planning contemplated.

Relationships with Other Communities

Any newly established community affects its neighbours in significant ways. Some of the effects are highly obvious, while others may be concealed from ready observation. Moreover, the effects may appear in very different lights, depending on the point of view. The new community assumes that it is spreading prosperity over the whole region. Its members tend to view the future optimistically, as a continuation of the upward phase of a boom. The surrounding communities have experienced booms and busts in the past, and look beyond the present prosperity to the dreaded recession of past experience.

Hence the people of Blind River look with some dismay on the growth of their neighbour. They view it as a mining town, and for many of them this connotes tawdry housing, periodic unemployment, violent industrial relations, and a rough type of citizen. Many of them view the five-year contracts with the government in very literal fashion, and foresee a ghost-town thereafter. Consequently they display little of the gratitude that their growing neighbour considers its due for sparking the new boom.

Whatever prosperity the new community actually engenders is dispersed very unevenly over neighbouring Blind River. The local liquor store does a thriving business, as do the four hotels that sell beer. But other business establishments are little affected. The feeding of the men in Elliot Lake is taken care of by large catering organizations, which tend to buy from the metropolitan centres and therefore bring no trade to Blind River. Banking facilities for Elliot Lake are provided by branches hastily organized in trailers; bit by bit, the solid services re-

quired by the new community are set up on a self-contained basis and contribute nothing to the prosperity of the local neighbours.

The greatest unfilled need of the new community is for housing, and Blind River is unequipped to provide this. Its own store of housing has had few recent additions and there was little in the way of a surplus when the uranium boom began. Moreover, the outside population is able to outbid the local people in the matter of rents; and this arouses ill feeling, as does the consequent overcrowding.

The pressure on housing is resulting in the emergence of trailer areas in both Blind River and Elliot Lake, to supplement the conventional housing. These raise problems for the local communities in establishing standards of health and safety for trailer areas and in devising service charges.

The most conspicuous housing problem involved the rooming houses of Blind River. Usually these cater to no settled section of the population, and are one of the sorts of housing most easily made available to newcomers. They are also a versatile type of housing that can be readily adapted to a variety of purposes, some of a questionable nature. As they became patronized by an outside population they came into disrepute, and the police department of the town was asked to investigate and report upon them, and later control them.

These developments call attention to three effects that a new and planned community is likely to have on its neighbours. In the first place, in spite of the planning, it is not possible to stipulate the social types that will move into the new area; some of these may bring with them standards of conduct that are repugnant to the local people. Secondly, in so far as the new community is planned, in the "good" sense of the term, it may have no room for the disreputable activities which are typical of recreation and leisure in a modern community. These questionable activities are likely to migrate to one or more of the towns on the periphery of the new community; the peripheral town becomes a sort of moral garbage heap for the planned community. Finally, the neighbouring town is constrained to develop in the very directions abjured by the newer community. One can see ribbon developments arising between Blind River and Elliot Lake. The latter community is planned to prohibit these on the grounds that they soon become unsightly slum-like areas, and that it is too costly to provide utilities and other services for them. However, in so far as Blind River tries to take advantage of the prosperity engendered by Elliot Lake, it develops in this direction. Thus, motels, gas stations, hotels, transport headquarters, and the like

are appearing on the eastern approaches to Blind River. There is no parallel development on the western side of the town, so it would seem clear that Elliot Lake is influencing its neighbour to grow in ways which both consider objectionable, but only Elliot Lake is attempting to control.

Furthermore, Blind River is being called upon to provide social services for its neighbour. Because the uranium area has become identified with Blind River, the unwary migrant is likely to head for the latter community. As in most cases of migration, those who move are rarely the most enlightened or the best equipped to make such a venture. Rather, it is those on the fringe of employment and near the margin of subsistence. When such persons arrive at Blind River, they find themselves still thirty-five miles from the main work area. Hence, they tend to turn to local sources of philanthropy for temporary aid. There is a preponderance of French-speaking people coming in to look for work. The population of Blind River is likewise largely French-speaking, and these people carry the burden of charity.

Blind River performs another social function by attending to those who run foul of the law. As noted above, it provides beer for the thirsty miner and construction worker. At the moment, all the drinking places in Blind River do a very brisk trade. These establishments are of a rough-and-ready sort, as are many of the customers. Drinking tends to be rowdy, especially on pay nights. Hence, the police are in frequent demand. After a normal weekend of celebrating Blind River usually finds itself with twenty-five or thirty prisoners. The town had the misfortune to lose its civic buildings in a fire four years ago, and as a consequence has no adequate jail. Hence, prisoners are locked up in makeshift quarters in an old basement while they await justice. In this situation, the town must transport its prisoners eighty-five miles to Sault Ste Marie as soon as its own facilities overflow. In an average week, seventy or eighty prisoners are shipped out by bus. While the total weekly cost of $150 would appear as a small item in an industrial budget it looms large for a community that cannot afford to replace its municipal office and jail.

Elliot Lake has likewise been responsible for an expansion of the Blind River police force. Until two years ago, one sole policeman was able to preserve law and order in the town. Since then, four men have been added, and a cruiser is being provided. Perhaps as the mining community takes on a more settled character, the need for the increased police force will wither away. However, once a community becomes

identified as the place to go for a wild time, it is very difficult for it to revert to the status of a sleepy little sawmill town.

The preceding materials constitute a summary of the profile prepared to orient the team which travelled to Blind River and Elliot Lake. Because the materials were gathered hurriedly they are in no sense a definitive description of the two areas; they constitute impressions only, but impressions which could alert the visiting team to developments they might wish to observe.

THE TEAM VISIT

The Round Table team that visited the Blind River–Elliot Lake area reflected a wide range of backgrounds. It represented business, government, labour, the professions, and the social sciences. The purpose of the trip was to view at first hand a rapidly growing industrial community and its dormant neighbour, and to bring back to the parent body the kinds of observations that would provide useful comparisons with material gathered by the other five teams. From the very beginning the team faced a series of handicaps. The time was unduly short; the members had less than two days to make themselves acquainted with the complexities of two unfamiliar communities. Moreover the very diversity of backgrounds of the members of the team made it difficult to arrive at consensus as to what *should* be observed or what *had been* observed. Furthermore the objective of the exercise was a strange and novel undertaking for most members of the group. In spite of these handicaps the group managed, in the course of a few days, to gain a substantial acquaintance with many features of life in an industrial community.

It is never an easy task to intrude oneself into the bosom of a strange community and gain the confidence of its members to such a degree that they reveal its inner workings to the outsider. The patient student of communities realizes that much of what goes on is concealed from the prying eyes of the outsider; and although he hopes that some features of community life will be revealed to him, many things will remain hidden unless the members of the community unwittingly betray their secrets. The amateur social scientist is likely to find himself in a series of dilemmas or hazards; moreover the manner in which he escapes from each dilemma dictates in large part the range of possibilities remaining open to him.

One of the first hazards is the tendency to take too literally the con-

tent of an initial briefing. A keynote address is usually aimed partly at guiding later action, and partly at generating enthusiasm. Moreover, the guides for action must necessarily be sufficiently general to apply to the very varied conditions of the different areas visited. However, the more unknowns there are in the situations visited, the less likely is it that the initial briefing will have direct applicability. Hence what purports to be a practical guide to action may turn out to be more a kind of strait-jacket which observers use to channel their observations and to discipline their reporting of observations.

The hazard mentioned above is characteristic of social research wherever it is undertaken. Research is necessarily a venture into the unknown. If one knew what to look for there would be no need for the search in question. In actual practice the researcher does not know what he is looking for until he finds it. This means, of course, that he works in an atmosphere of uncomfortable uncertainty. It is consoling therefore to be provided with goals for observation that give a sense of dependable guidance. In the present case the field team oscillated between following the initial briefing and veering sharply towards the individual interests of individual members.

A second dilemma concerned the objects to be observed. In the planning of such a venture it is provokingly easy to model the whole thing on the pattern of an inspection tour. It is easier to show people physical plants than to show the human beings that work within them. The physical plant is a well-organized affair that gives a comfortable stability to a tour. One can plan such a venture within a definite time schedule, and anticipate the amount of physical effort needed. Moreover, such a tour has a kind of symmetry, and leaves the participants with the impression that they have a complete picture of what they had a chance to observe.

The members of the field visit had the uneasy sense that the physical plants they visited were much less significant than were the human beings that manned them. They felt too that the opportunity to observe and interrogate the worker was unsatisfactory unless it could be done in the context of the work situation in which he characteristically found himself. Those who planned the trip had not provided such opportunities for observation. This is readily understandable because it is infinitely difficult to stage such situations for visitors and strangers without modifying the situations or indeed distorting them beyond recognition. The team had no opportunity to observe a worker addressing himself to the demands of his job, or relating himself to his super-

visor or employer, and had perforce to be content with second-hand accounts of the social side of the job. On the other hand they addressed themselves on three occasions to guided tours through plants, each a time-consuming occasion. The fact that one tour was conducted by a superintendent through a plant that had been, and was at the moment, almost completely idle, perhaps emphasizes the distance that separates the effort to observe humans in industry and its achievement. The best the observers could do in such conditions was to *infer* the nature of the work situation, and inference is lamentably inferior to observation as a means of gathering facts.

A third dilemma concerns the selection of persons in the community to be contacted as sources of information. In part this selection is dictated by the planning that precedes the visit. A certain amount of spontaneous interviewing is possible but generally these matters have to be planned to fit the time schedules of the parties concerned. The brief duration of the tour put limits on the numbers who could be visited or consulted. The time was short and the communities were extended and complex; therefore only a limited and perhaps unrepresentative range of people could be met under these circumstances. However, time is not the only limiting factor in such a venture. The fact that a visiting group contacts one segment of a community may mean that it is precluded from establishing contact with other members of the community. If a visiting team starts its tour by meeting with, and associating with, the business leaders of the community it is very likely that the labour organizations will consider the visitors to be an ally of business and an antagonist of labour; hence they will probably boycott any meetings to which they are later invited, and will frequently absent themselves from general meetings to which they would be welcomed. Indeed, this is a common fate of groups venturing forth in this fashion. The result of such a situation is the probability of obtaining a one-sided or inadequate picture of what is going on in a community.

This again is a characteristic dilemma faced by such a group entering a strange community. The usual community is a set of mutually exclusive groupings, and the accident of becoming identified with one of these makes the others very difficult to penetrate. Obviously the split between labour and business is only one of many such lines bisecting a community. In Northern Ontario religious affiliation provides another line of demarcation, as does the boundary between language groups. To start off in association with one of the dominant language or religious groups is almost tantamount to closing the doors of the alternate groups.

Thus the accident of initial contact may narrow the range of contacts to an extreme degree. A group may spend a couple of days in a community and find at the end of the sojourn that they have been effectually excluded from all but a small segment of the total.

Ventures of this sort always constitute news, and the group engaged is almost certainly going to meet the press in various situations. This too poses something of a dilemma. In order to make a news story the press must usually be able to recognize identifiable villains and heroes in the scene. The visit of an impartial study group hardly constitutes a story in this sense, and in the nature of the case the press may be forced to improvise or construct a villain in order to produce something with news appeal. In a carefully staged venture the press agent or the public relations advisers step in to provide news copy and the desired interpretation of the event. Where no such staging has occurred the visiting group is thrown back on its own resources to give an acceptable version of its objectives; it usually manages to give a slightly idealized account of its intentions and objectives. Moreover, what it does try to convey goes through a process of interpretation by the press, and there is of course room for error in such interpretation. Similarly the effort of the press to communicate with its readers means that the latter have to interpret what is offered in the way of news; and again the possibility of misinterpretation occurs. Hence there may be a progressive divergence between the original intentions of such a group and the public understanding as gathered from the press, even with goodwill on both sides. However this effort at communication turns out, the public impression so created determines to a considerable degree the kinds of things that the visiting group will hear.

In this sort of situation it frequently happens that the citizen of a community will make one sort of statement for public consumption and for the press, but if he has a chance to talk "off the record" or in private session will make diametrically opposed or at least highly different statements. This is one of the very serious difficulties to be faced in trying to obtain information about a community by a visiting group. The team visiting Elliot Lake became increasingly aware of this difficulty, but had no opportunity to take steps to control the effects of publicity. On balance they were lucky in their dealings with the press, and faced none of the embarrassments reported by other groups.

Finally, a visiting group of this sort faces the dilemma of adopting a definite rôle to play in the community for the duration of its visit. As suggested above, this is only partly a situation that it can control. Its

members may make the effort to specify precisely what it is trying to do, but if the purpose is a sophisticated one, such as to isolate significant research problems, it may be difficult or impossible to make this intelligible to the general citizen. Under these conditions the group may unwittingly carve out an unintended rôle, or worse still, may have a sinister rôle imputed to it by the very fact that the real one is incomprehensible to ordinary citizens.

One of the common rôles adopted by visitors under these circumstances is that of benefactor. And the effort to place a favourable light on its intentions tends to build up the expectation that the group is in the position to do favours for the community. In the present case, the visitors found themselves on several occasions in a position where they had to declare their purposes in the community and on each occasion gave the impression that the visit, as well as the two succeeding ones, would produce definite benefits for the community. Without having intended originally to do so, the group found itself manoeuvred into the position where it appeared to be playing the rôle of Santa Claus.

Though the visitors tend to put themselves in a favourable light, some parts of the community are inclined to see unfavourable motives in such a venture. Perhaps the most commonly imputed rôle is that of investigator. The rôles of the inspector and inquisitor and detective are well known and easily understood, and among the simplest to impute to the stranger who comes into a strange situation. Moreover, it is extremely easy for the person who comes making harmless inquiries to ask the kinds of questions which harden the impression that he is carrying out some sort of investigation which will eventually attach blame to someone and perhaps result in punitive action. It is very probably the case that the first and most spontaneous response of large parts of any community is to impute a sinister or dangerous motive to the visiting stranger, and consequently to interpret what he does in such a context.

A more difficult rôle in such situations is that of the non-threatening observer who comes in to view the community and its members sympathetically. This is the usual rôle of the field worker in social research and is not easy to play. It requires the visitor to act as supplicant, continually asking the resident of the community for more information, without being able to promise any specific results in return. On both sides, this is an uncomfortable relation to build up and maintain. The resident is asked to confide what he knows about the inner workings of his community to an outsider who has no obligations either to safeguard scrupulously what he discovers or to protect the reputation of the community or of its members. Hence there is little to impel the resident to

enter into such relations with the visitor. On the other hand the outsider must continually act as a mendicant asking favours and unable to reciprocate in kind. He is in effect a panhandler of information, though drawn from a social class that finds it distasteful to ask favours without making return in kind.

In the ideal situation this type of field worker not only learns to *act* this rôle, but also *looks* the rôle. If he conveys an air of frank dependability, if he gives the sense of being able to ponder and consider facts rather than act impulsively on them, if he shows unmistakably that he is interested in other human beings for their own sake, and if he gives evidence of sincerely enjoying the playing of the rôle, it is immeasurably easier for others to act out their part of the drama of sharing knowledge of the community. However, it is hardly to be expected that a group of successful business and professional men will display such characteristics: one might anticipate that they would display the obverse characteristics in many regards. In the case in point, the initial response of some of the local residents was that the visitors were a group of Bay Street brokers, and having so defined them, they were prepared to respond to them accordingly.

From the above discussion, it should be abundantly evident that the presence of a group of this sort in an unfamiliar community is by no means a neutral matter. Such visits can be so planned that they arouse a minimum of concern and anxiety for those visited, and raise a minimum of extravagant expectation. On the other hand, if such visits are relatively unplanned, or loosely organized, they not only produce a host of unanticipated consequences but may make it highly difficult for serious research students to apply their skills at a later date to the community in question.

Most of the handicaps discussed above operated to limit the effectiveness of the team that visited the Elliot Lake area. Almost half of the time was devoted to tours through plants. These visits helped to provide an understanding of the nature of work operations, and were highly illuminating in their own right; but the emphasis on the technical details of plant operation tended to deflect attention from the focus of the study, the human aspects of industrialization. The remainder of the time was evenly divided between viewing the projected town-site, and a formal dinner meeting with the business and professional leaders of Blind River. The town-site has scarcely emerged from the planning stage; and whereas its physical features can be glimpsed, its potentialities as a human community could only be surmised. On balance the members of the group were very favourably impressed by the detailed and imaginative plans

drawn up for the new community. The dinner meeting with the civic leaders of Blind River and a series of informal meetings of twos and threes which emerged therefrom later in the evening were the main occasions for coming to closer grips with the life of the community.

IMPRESSIONS REPORTED

In summarizing impressions for the parent group at the reconvened Round Table, four conclusions seemed noteworthy. The first was the powerful influence that a newly growing community can exert on its older but weaker neighbours. Most conspicuous was the pressure exerted on Blind River for housing and the demand for recreational facilities. An effort was made to formulate the obligations of large construction firms which unwittingly foist thousands of thirsty construction workers on to old-established, but small, neighbouring communities for their week-end entertainment. A second impression reported was that the visiting team had been impressed, and indeed surprised, at the potentialities for a good life in the small and somewhat isolated communities of the province. Coupled with this was the comment that many of these potentialities are far from being realized, leaving a wide gap between what could be and what is. The third impression was that the farther one travels from the political centre of the province the less awareness there is of the kinds of services that are available to communities in the remote areas. Local people seem to lack the means to take advantage of the available kinds of aid, and those in the political centres seem unable to bridge the gap between their programmes of aid and the areas of need. And finally, there seems to be a need for a programme of adult education to permit the citizens of the remote communities to share in the more abundant life that the forces of industrialization are making available on an ever widening scale.

These impressions, plus those reported by the other five teams, permitted the Round Table to take on a digestive rôle, and to try to arrive at guidelines for its direction over the two succeeding years. While the meeting tried to move toward this common objective several divergent lines of discussion emerged. One part of the group found themselves ready and eager to suggest immediate action that would ameliorate various conditions that they had found disturbing in their field visits. They were prepared to formulate immediate plans of action, and could see no grounds for delay in putting such plans into execution. Such plans as were suggested ranged from attaching blame to unenthusiastic officials to devising advisory and consultative procedures, and planning imagi-

native new programmes. Another part of the Round Table tended to indulge in a sort of philosophical worrying about the more fundamental aspects of the spiritual and economic life of man living in an industrial society, without any reference to action programmes. Yet another part of the group were neither speculatively inclined, nor disposed towards direct action, but preferred to discuss the kinds of political machinery which are needed at the municipal and local level to deal effectively with the kinds of problems and sorts of situations that the visiting teams had observed. And finally there were those who contented themselves for the time being with asking the question "Why?" with regard to the matters discussed. They expressed the desire to see behind the phenomena observed and to seek out the fundamental movements or trends in Canadian society of which the items reported might be largely the surface symptoms. Of these four types of discussion none was by any means the monopoly of any one of the groups represented in the Round Table. Business men and labour leaders, professional men and social scientists, were to be found supporting each of these distinctive points of view.

It was neither necessary nor expected that the Round Table should, at this first session, arrive at final decisions or consensus regarding the action to be taken on the basis of the first ventures. The discussion functioned primarily as a guide to the ongoing Committe on Research of the Round Table and to the already established research staff. Its varied kinds of usefulness have been stated cogently and effectively by the chairman of the Research Committee, Dr. Murray Ross, in a companion paper in this symposium, in which he outlines the various kinds of developments that are envisaged in the next stages in the life of the Round Table.

The varied and often inconsistent strands in the discussion of the Round Table, and the varied suggestions brought forward, form a significant commentary on the complex and tangled manner in which the larger community of men of affairs and the university community are involved in the accelerated industrialization that characterizes our age. The very differences of opinion emphasize vividly the fact that we are carried along on the tide of industrial change faster than our knowledge of these changes accumulates. Being a young country we have hurried along with our material progress without spending too much time and effort in understanding how and where we are going. If this Round Table manages to reduce the gap between what is happening to us as an industrialized nation and our understanding of the processes and consequences of industrialization, it will mark a significant milepost in our social history.

A Study of Malton

Donald M. Paterson

At the beginning I should explain that the "profile" of Malton which I prepared for the Round Table on "Man and Industry" was the result, first, of a year's experience in 1953–4 as Secretary to the Malton Planning Board and, second, of a month's research, spent on the collection of data and the interviewing of people last summer. The most important part of the task became the selection of the "significant" points for inclusion, and one of the most rewarding aspects of the experience became the probing of my own biases and prejudices which went with this responsibility. The extent to which the "profile" succeeded in presenting an unbiased picture is better judged by others than by myself, however.

In this article I shall give, first, a summary of the "profile" itself (about half the length of the original); next, a report on the findings of the group which investigated the Malton area, indicating how these findings modify the "profile"; and, last, some suggestions for future research.

THE PROFILE

Malton is unique among Canadian communities. Though it is the site of Canada's largest aircraft factory and the location of one of her two most important airports, Malton is still surrounded by farms and still looks much like the farm community it used to be. Between the plough and the jet-propelled aircraft lies the history of Canada's transition from producer of food and raw materials to one of the world's leading industrial nations.

What has been the impact of this transition on Malton? Here, in short-story form, is a picture of the impact on human well-being of our rapidly evolving industrialization. It is a complicated story with many themes, major and minor, but one runs throughout, dominating all others: the change from a life of simple independence to one of complex interdependence.

The story begins with the original settling of the area about 1820. By 1850, Malton had become a centre for surrounding farms. In 1856, Peel and York became separate counties; Malton was now in Peel County and in 1859 was chosen as the site for the county buildings, but protests from other parts of Peel forced a vote which gave the honour to Brampton in 1860.

What was life like in those early days? The pioneer settlers lived by necessity a life of simple independence, producing practically all that they consumed. The individual was not independent, for the rigours of life brought forth a high degree of community cohesion and mutual aid. However, the farm family was relatively independent, and the community of farms was almost completely independent of the outside world.

The pioneer phase was shortlived as better roads and the railroad soon allowed the surplus from the cleared farms to be hauled by wagon to the railroad at Malton. The first stores and tradesmen appeared in the village and the farming families, having brought their produce to the railway on Friday, began taking the Saturday train to market in the city. During this second phase, community life grew richer with more time free from farm chores and with retired farmers beginning to settle in the village.

With the coming of farm machinery and improved methods of agriculture a third phase began in the last quarter of the century, which continued to the First World War. Fewer and fewer hired hands were needed on the farms, and population began to fall as more and more sought jobs in the city. Interdependence and complexity began to tie Malton's economic life more and more to the outside world.

The beginning of the First World War saw the village incorporated as a police village, and this municipal status it still has. The war may have come as an unexpected and distant explosion to Malton, but it ended an era in Malton as surely as it did in Europe. The outside world was no longer quite so far away.

The depression of the thirties involved the farmer along with everyone else, though his ability to produce for himself the basic necessities of life partially insulated Malton from this catastrophe. People escaped from the city seeking a lost independence and a few came to Malton to live in a little shack on a piece of land. Gradually, things started to get a bit better.

Then, in 1937, decisions were made in Ottawa and Toronto which suddenly wrenched Malton from one world into another, tying it with unbreakable strands of interdependence to all the complexities of

Canada's evolving industrialization. The federal and provincial governments each put up $400,000 and the City of Toronto $200,000 to build an airport at Malton, and the City of Toronto bought thirteen Malton farms totalling 1,500 acres.

Events moved rapidly as construction of the airport began. In 1938, the National Steel Car Company of Hamilton built an aircraft factory adjacent to the airport to produce training planes. In August of that year, the first plane landed at the new airport. 1939 and the War brought the Commonwealth Air Training Plan into existence, and Malton was chosen as the location for No. 1 Elementary Flying Training School and for No. 1 Air Observers' School, through which were to pass airmen from all parts of the Commonwealth. Meanwhile, employment at the aircraft factory began to climb, bringing skilled workers from across the country. The factory was taken over by the federal government in 1942 and organized as a crown company, Victory Aircraft Limited. Employment began to climb more steeply as tooling for the production of the Lancaster bomber got underway.

By this time, steps had been taken to do something about the growing housing problem. In 1942 and 1943, Wartime Housing Limited built 208 houses and two large staff houses, providing new accommodation for about 1,000 persons. This "temporary" community was well equipped compared to the old village, being provided with a four-room school, its own community hall, sewers and a sewage treatment plant and municipal water supply; the sewers and water supply were a luxury which the old village with its private wells, septic tanks and privies had not yet dreamed of possessing. In the light of the later growth of employment, this "temporary" housing has proved to be only a sizeable drop in the bucket, but it appears in perspective as the only attempt to get at the roots of the problem which has materialized to date.

Employment at the factory continued to rise as the production of Lancasters got into gear. The peak was reached in 1944–5, with about 9,700 on the payroll. Production of over 40 bombers a month was attained and a total of over 400 Lancasters were produced, no mean achievement for a factory which had started only a few years before.

Here was the genius of division of labour, highly skilled specialization and complex organization, hurriedly brought together to produce great numbers of machines of fantastic intricacy and tremendous power. Here was the most complex interdependence of 9,700 workers, miraculously co-ordinated to achieve a single goal. But when peace came—what market would there be for bombers then? And would

there be any other jobs to go to? These were disturbing thoughts to men who had grown up in the depression. A basic insecurity seemed to hover over this wartime miracle of production, ready to destroy the miracle as soon as peace was declared.

During the last months of the war, production and employment began to drop sharply, until in the first few months of peace, only about 300 of the 9,700 remained. The miracle had apparently ended. Then suddenly, the A. V. Roe Company Limited of England, member of the Hawker-Siddeley Group, became interested in the idle factory at Malton. Before 1945 had ended, A. V. Roe Canada Limited had been formed and had leased the property. Employment slowly began to climb again, with the factory concentrating on the design and development of new jet-propelled aircraft. Work was begun on the Avro "Jetliner" and the CF-100, and the firm quickly became a world leader in the development of both commercial and military aircraft.

With the outbreak of the Korean War, work on the "Jetliner" was dropped and all facilities were turned to CF-100 production. Employment rose steeply from 3,000 in January 1950 to over 7,900 in December 1951; to over 13,900 a year later; to a peak of over 15,700 in December 1954. A large part of this expansion was due to the significant addition to the plant's facilities of the $38,000,000 Orenda engine factory, opened in 1952, which made A. V. Roe Canada Limited the largest plant in the Hawker-Siddeley Group and the only Commonwealth firm to produce both aircraft and engines.

Before this expansion could take place, however, a larger and more secure water supply had to be provided than could be obtained from wells. This meant bringing a supply from Lake Ontario, through either Toronto Township or Etobicoke Township, with the added complication that Malton lay partly in Toronto Township and partly in Toronto Gore Township. The bringing of water from the lake, therefore, implied a change in the political status of the Malton area.

Both Toronto Township and Toronto Gore Township applied to the Ontario Municipal Board for permission to annex part of the other, and the Board decided to allow the annexation of 4,000 acres of Toronto Gore Township by Toronto Township. This decision was handed down in March 1951, to take effect January 1, 1952, and plans were immediately made by Toronto Township for the construction of a thirteen-mile watermain to Malton. A complicated "water agreement" was signed by the Township and A. V. Roe Canada Limited, which would enable the Township to finance and pay for the main—an agreement later to

become a contentious issue in Township politics. In August 1951, construction of the watermain began. Here, finally, was hope that the potential growth of Malton, long-awaited by many of its residents (and especially by its landowners) might materialize.

Within a short time, a 585-house subdivision, with its own package sewage treatment plant, was proposed at the southeast corner of the airport (unfortunately, near the end of one of the runways). After considerable delay, this subdivision was approved, and the construction of houses begun, but not before a new snag to Malton's development had come to light: the reluctance of mortgage lending institutions and Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation to approve mortgages on dwellings so close to the noise and potential danger of a major airport. However, the urgent need for accommodation for Malton workers could be viewed as an over-riding factor, and, apparently, C.M.H.C. approval for a considerable number of the 585 proposed houses was about to be given, when the airport in order to expand expropriated some 1500 additional acres, including the land for the proposed subdivision.

Meanwhile, the commuting problem and the Malton traffic jams grew worse and worse as employment rose. With only about 400 of the employees living in Malton, and with thirty-five times this number commuting, traffic is bound to be a problem. The solution has not been made easier by the fact that one of the two roads into the village is a County road, and the other is a Township responsibility. Neither the County nor the Township has seen fit to make any major expenditure on improving these roads, although a fair part of the revenue of both comes from the $14,000,000 assessment in this ward of the Township.

As its big expansion got underway, A. V. Roe Canada Limited itself spent some $250,000 on the widening and paving of roads in order to make commuting more tolerable. Other traffic improvements have been made by staggering shifts and timing them to avoid the peaks of Toronto's rush hours, and by allocating cars to parking areas according to route travelled and using company police in traffic direction. But the traffic jams continue to take their daily toll of frustration, frayed nerves, lost time, scraped fenders and wasted gasoline. Ankles have been sprained in the race from the plant through the parking lots to the cars. Drivers have been known purposely to drive broadside into another car, seeking a momentary release for their frustration. There seems no doubt that production in the plant suffers, especially during the first and last half-hours of the work-day, just after and just before the traffic ordeal. A similarly disruptive effect on home life is also apparent.

Here, then, the interdependence between place of work and place of residence, which requires an adequate transportation system to make it functional, has broken down because the load is too great and the facilities inadequate. The administrative machinery at hand has not yet proved adequate to its task of decreasing the load and increasing the facilities.

Why has this urgent need failed to bring an adequate response? In an efficiently functioning interdependent system, needs are quickly communicated to an adequate executive body which immediately acts to satisfy those needs. Evidently in the case of Malton communication, like transportation, has been inadequate for the proper functioning of the interdependent parts of the system.

A few facts should be noted about executive bodies involved in the administration of the Malton area. Malton police village is an incorporated area with but limited functions; it once had its own police force, but the Township now polices it; it has a volunteer fire brigade with one fire truck; it is currently paving some of its residential streets and laying sewermains on them. It has no municipal staff, all administration being handled by the Township, which also collects all taxes, including the special police village levy, and finances all but strictly local improvements. The powers of the police village trustees are, therefore, strictly limited.

The Malton Planning Board looks after minor items of planning directly, and advises the Township Council, the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board and the provincial Minister of Planning and Development on major items. It has served as one of the more important channels of communication between Malton and the Township Council, but is being disbanded (against its will) at the end of 1956. To take its place, one member from the Malton area will be appointed to the Township of Toronto Planning Board.

The area's representation on the Township Council consists of one councillor for the ward in which Malton lies. The small number of voters in this ward compared to the large number in the southern part of the Township has restricted the Malton area's influence in Township-wide elections. Different problems and interests in the south have made the Council, meeting in Cooksville, seem distant from and unresponsive to Malton's problems. At the same time the Township—A. V. Roe Water Agreement has been an issue in two elections.

From 1953 to 1955, relations were very strained between Malton and the A. V. Roe company on the one hand and the Township on the other. Such communication as took place frequently degenerated into

invective and propaganda, with little mutual understanding; in 1954 an attempt was made in Malton—with the support of A. V. Roe Canada Limited, and practically all the area's residents—to incorporate Malton as a village, but the move did not receive the approval of the Province. Then, in the last election, Malton suddenly became a political power as it swung its support strongly behind one of the candidates for reeve and, because of a small turnout of southern voters, secured his election. Since the new Council took office, communications between Malton and Cooksville have improved and there seems to be greater response to the area's needs.

A sewage disposal system, which will replace the septic tanks in the old village and also handle the waste from some 500 proposed new houses, is apparently to become a reality, with the company handing over to the Township (at cost price less depreciation) its sewage treatment plant built to serve the Orenda factory. As regards water supply, it now appears, in spite of earlier views to the contrary, that there is sufficient water in the Malton main to service the proposed 500 houses or more, plus some reserve for possible industrial expansion.

Two long-pending subdivisions northeast of the village (and not near the end of any of the airport runways) will probably be approved, with a possibility that some of the 500 houses for which water is definitely available might be completed in 1956. Mortgage money will probably come direct from Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation funds, in the form of "Defence Worker Housing Loans."

Meanwhile, there is promise of road conditions being improved considerably. The federal Department of Transport intends to re-locate one of the main roads outside the new boundary of the airport, and in doing so will, it is reported, widen it to four lanes. Metropolitan Toronto will probably continue the widening of this road eastward to its junction with a main east-west city thoroughfare. The provincial Department of Highways will also help by constructing a cloverleaf at a major intersection as well as a new super-highway to Windsor which will pass just south of the airport. Even with these improvements, however, further road construction will probably be necessary to solve the problem of transportation.

Enough has been said about the problems of transportation and communication, as represented by the unsatisfied need for physical things—roads, housing, sewers and water—to give the impression that they are the area's most pressing problems. This appears to be the opinion of nearly everyone who lives or works in the area.

There are, however, other problems. Insecurity of employment, a

central problem in any highly industrialized society, is one of them. At Malton it takes an extreme form because of the industry's dependence on government orders for military aircraft, which has, in the past, led to extremely wide fluctuations in the level of employment.

Seniority within a group of jobs requiring similar degrees of skill determines *who* will be included in a lay-off, with the company deciding *how many* in each skill-group are to be laid off. For employees with several years of seniority, the insecurity is much less. But because the majority of the present employees were first taken on during the great expansion of 1950–4, the current seniority standings show that 68 per cent of all employees have five years' seniority or less, which, in the light of past experience, is not enough to rule out the possibility of lay-off.

In spite of this basic insecurity, however, practically everyone agrees that an A. V. Roe job is a good one. The reasons are not hard to find:

Wages are among the highest in Canada, with a current weighted average for hourly rated employees of $1.92 per hour, and there is a Company-paid health insurance scheme covering all employees and their dependents.

The Avro Aircraft factory and the Orenda Engine factory both contain fully equipped hospitals and medical staffs, capable of looking after any emergency.

A Company-paid Life Insurance Policy with total disability benefits is provided for every employee.

A pension plan, with Company and worker contributing on an approximately equal basis, is open to all salaried employees who have been with the firm over two years.

An Employees' Welfare Fund is in operation, with a Welfare Committee and full-time staff on the Company payrolls.

There is a Credit Union in the plants to which nearly 50 per cent of the employees belong.

There is an Employee Services Division which looks after numerous services, including the posting of data on transportation (drivers wishing passengers and vice versa), handling of insurance claims and payments, arranging bereavement leave and allowance, collecting data on rental accommodation available, operating the numerous cafeterias distributed throughout the plants, arranging blood donor clinics and X-ray examinations, administering the two hospitals, investigating employee health impairment, providing domestic and financial counselling, and advising and administering an extensive recreation programme which is largely run by the participants.

All this adds up to a pretty impressive total for the thousands of employees at Malton. Yet their very numbers pose another problem. In some ways, it is probably one of the most basic and obstinate of the problems to be found in all modern industry, and it appears in an ex-

treme form at Malton. It can perhaps be most simply stated as the problem of preserving the human identity and dignity of the individual worker when he is but one of nearly 15,000 in the establishment. How can he identify himself with such a mammoth enterprise, or with the complex product in the making of which he has played such a small part? How can his efforts be rewarded with the appreciation which is one of his basic requirements? How can he retain a feeling of independence when his work is utterly dependent on the work of thousands of others for its meaning? These are not questions voiced by the average employee; his reaction tends perhaps to be felt rather than thought out. The symptoms appear mainly in the form of very vague feelings of frustration, anxiety and restlessness; but they are nonetheless real for being vague.

Of the other employers in the area, the federal Department of Transport and Trans-Canada Airlines are the most important. The expansion of the airport will double the present investment to give the Toronto region a $45,000,000 airport of 3,000 acres, capable of handling the most advanced types of aircraft for probably the next twenty years. With more trans-Atlantic passengers originating in Toronto than in any other Canadian city, it is expected that the number of trans-Atlantic planes leaving from and arriving at Malton will increase considerably in the future. At present the Department of Transport, which operates the airport, employs about 28 persons; expansion will raise this figure to 62. Trans-Canada Airlines currently employs about 800 persons, representing a rapid increase, paralleling the phenomenal post-war growth in airline activity. T.C.A. employment may be expected to continue to grow at a fairly steady rate. Employment with these organizations tends to be secure, and is affected mainly by moves within them which may result in re-location of an employee. Several other small employers are also based on the airport, but when all the above non-Avro jobs are added together, the total is only about 1,000, or approximately 7 per cent of the total current employment at Malton.

Moving now from the job to the home, we leave Malton for a broader view of the communities spread over eleven counties and Metropolitan Toronto in which Malton workers reside. This region has become interdependent with Malton, and thereby with the far corners of our complex modern world. Each of the communities has felt some impact as the workers have moved in. Facilities for education, day nurseries, recreation, religion, etc., have usually been inadequate at the outset, and in many cases still are. The trouble is that an increase in such

facilities, and especially the schools, needs more money than communities without an adequate industrial assessment can readily raise. Most of the communities in which Malton workers live lie outside the areas which receive taxes from the Malton assessment, and only those with sufficient industrial assessment of their own can avoid financial difficulties and provide adequate facilities for their residents. Thus, the impact of a large industry like that at Malton is felt throughout a region and seems to require some form of regional surveillance or planning if the problems it creates are to be dealt with adequately.

What the future will bring for this "impact area" depends on the future of air transportation, and especially of military aircraft, a future which is difficult to predict at the beginning of an age of guided missiles, atomic power and space satellites. One thing seems certain: the problems Malton will face in the future will be more, not less complex than those of today, and a considerably improved network of communications will be required if they are to be solved.

THE GROUP'S FINDINGS

The Round Table group whose task it was to study Malton, after a preliminary study of the "profile," spent two days touring the area and talking as fully as possible to those principally involved in the problems. Officials of the aircraft plants, the airport, the labour unions and the various municipalities were, of course, interviewed, as were also leaders in religion, welfare, education and recreation. After considerable discussion within itself the group summarized its findings in order to present them to the Round Table as a whole. I shall set out the findings of the group in my own words:

1. The impact of industrialization at Malton has been unique because it has taken the form of not one, but two major disruptive influences, the large airport and the large industry. The airport, with its noise and danger, poses the problem of determining the proper use of land in the surrounding area. The industry, acting like a sponge, has drawn employees from across Canada and beyond to jobs at Malton, but the housing of them has required the resources of eleven neighbouring counties. The resulting relationship between housing and employment has posed a serious commuting problem. Underlying this confusion is the insecurity of employment inherent in an industry born of war and preparation for war.

The combined impact of industry and airport has created the need

for regional co-ordination of employment, housing, other land uses, transportation and financial resources.

2. The specific airport-industry development at Malton has taken place on the fringe of the explosive urban expansion of Metropolitan Toronto, which symbolizes the general urbanization that is accompanying Canada's rapid industrialization. Malton has added its impetus to this general metropolitan growth. The wild-fire process of speculative land development is rapidly filling the gap between Toronto and Malton, and is bringing the problems of rapid growth to numerous towns, villages and townships beyond. In this process, various community patterns are emerging which satisfy and frustrate in varying degrees the needs of urban man.

3. Most of the existing administrative machinery in the Malton complex was designed long ago to cope with problems on a smaller scale than those it now faces; there is usually a gap between the size of the problem and the size and financial resources of the administrative unit which must deal with it. The Metropolitan Toronto Corporation is an attempt to overcome this disparity within the metropolitan area, but the disparity remains in fringe areas like Malton.

4. The family budgets of Malton workers deserve further study, for although wages are high, there are signs that the cost of housing, commuting and credit buying may frequently leave too little for other family needs.

5. The status and security of the Malton worker also require further investigation, both in the work situation and in the home situation. The things which confer status and security, and the extent to which the individual can achieve them, are key factors in assessing the impact on human well-being of industrialization at Malton.

The above five findings of the group modify the "profile" in several ways. The first, second and third points each received considerable attention in the original profile, but were not formulated as explicitly or generally as they have been by the group. The fourth and fifth cover areas which the profile touched upon, but did not develop.

SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH

The Round Table Research Committee will determine the aspects of the Malton complex on which future attention should be focussed. The following comments are merely meant to suggest the kind of research which might prove fruitful.

Of the five points made by the Malton group, only the first is peculiar to Malton; each of the other four was made in one or more of the reports from groups studying other areas. This first point merits study, however, for the problems of proper control of land use around large airports will arise frequently in the future; and Malton's peculiar combination of major airport with major industrial employer may also reappear. The problem of commuting noted under point one is, of course, not peculiar to Malton, but is emerging elsewhere across Canada. As it is seen in an extreme form at Malton, however, this may be the best place to study it.

The second point, regarding the satisfactions and frustrations of the community patterns which our sprawling urbanization is creating, suggests that research into these satisfactions and frustrations might pay rich dividends by helping to guide future urban growth along the lines most promising for human well-being.

The third point, concerning administrative machinery, came up so often at the general Round Table sessions that there is no doubt about its being an area for research. Again, the rather extreme form taken by the problem at Malton may make this the best place to study it.

The fourth point, regarding family budgets and well-being, is fundamentally related to the Round Table theme. Whether or not a high-wage, high-cost area like Malton is the place to study this problem, there is no doubt about its being a nearly universal concomitant of industrialization.

Lastly, the problems of status and security in our industrial society probably require better solutions than have yet been found if that society is to achieve stability. Again, both these problems appear in extreme form at Malton owing to the large size and inherent instability of the industry there.

CONCLUSION

I have given one individual's impression of the rôle played by the group studying one "impact area" in the first session of the Round Table. It would be a false impression if it did not end by stressing its inadequacy; for the unique value of the Round Table lies in its rich variety of viewpoints which cannot be adequately summarized. This article, therefore, has indicated only a few of the countless aspects of the Malton complex, just as the five-point summary of group findings indicated only a few of the multitude of impressions gained by the group.

The Round Table and Research

Murray G. Ross

There has been a tendency in the social sciences to believe that statistical methods, control groups or situations, questionnaires and schedules, etc., constitute the essence of research. These are extremely valuable techniques used in one type of modern research, but they are by no means the only methods available to the researcher. There has developed in recent years, in fact, a reaction to the almost complete reliance on the tabulating machine in social science, and to the tendency to isolate smaller and smaller variables, and to study these in the greatest possible detail. Social scientists are becoming increasingly aware that there are a wide variety of research methods, and that even larger and more general problems may yield to at least partial solution by appropriate methods of investigation. More important for us here is the recognition that there are many ways in which knowledge may be advanced and truth discovered. If we had been, or were now, restricted in what we know to the results of scientific research, we would, indeed, be an intellectually impoverished people.

We (i.e., members of the Round Table, to whom this summary was addressed) might be wise in this Round Table not to permit ourselves to be overawed by the halo that science and research possess today. We should not adjust our questions to fit the scientific tools available, but should formulate our questions boldly, and then seek the means of securing the information and knowledge we require. Some of the answers may come not through scientific research, but by quite different approaches—perhaps just by good hard thinking! Archibald MacLeish suggests that some of the important things we need to know everyone already knows, but, he says, "Such is the character of what everyone knows, that no one knows it with enthusiasm." In other words—and I shall return to this later—scientific research may not be the only means by which we shall pursue and secure the objectives of this Round Table.

The range of questions we have identified is broad indeed. Scientific research will undoubtedly help us, but I do not believe it can be the whole of our future programme.

What I should like to do in this summary of my impressions is to present research as part of a total programme and not something separate from other aspects of the Round Table. To do this, I propose to discuss: (1) the functions of the Round Table, (2) some basic considerations in respect of research, (3) a tentative programme for the Round Table, and (4) the steps immediately ahead.

FUNCTIONS OF THE ROUND TABLE

It has been suggested that the main focus of the Round Table is research. I do not believe, from developments to date, that either the sole function or the primary function is research. Our experience to date suggests that there are at least three functions of the Round Table, namely education, social action and research. Each of these could, in a sense, be the only function of the Round Table, or each could be a separate function of the Round Table. As it happens, however, they are interrelated parts of this particular project. It is essential, I believe, to understand this fact.

This is an educational project in the sense that we function somewhat like a graduate university seminar. In this seminar we the participants are alerted to new developments in a field trip, and have an opportunity to discuss, under competent guidance, these developments and their implications for our society and for whatever particular profession or interest we represent. Such an educational experience stretches the mind, increases sensitivity to the changing nature of society and may lead us to change our attitudes and practices to conform with the demands of the day. There is value in such an experience, and we would have no need to apologize to anyone for continuing the Round Table simply as a project in modern education. It is likely to be of great value to us as individuals, and quite probably to the industries and professions we represent.

We are also an action-orientated group (I should include under this head development of policy in respect of problems we think we can act upon after some preliminary study). We have—and we need to be frank about it—a social conscience. Most of us here have a strong bias towards reform and action. This has been most evident in the reports of the study groups as they discussed and reported upon "things that

should be done" in whatever community they happened to visit. The School of Social Work which sponsors this project has a similar bias towards reform and action. Such a bias is not a matter of regret; it may well be a useful contribution to the total programme of the Round Table. It has already been suggested to us that many problems are due not to lack of *information*, but to lack of *attention*. On such matters our disposition is not to pause for study, let alone research. We want to act. On some matters we are probably now ready, or will soon be ready, for action. We do need to recognize, however, that dispositions to act, if not disciplined by reflection and study, could create difficulties for other parts of the programme.

We are also a research operation, in the sense that during our field trips we have identified problems for which we have no ready answers and no assured solutions. Some of these problems may yield to experiment of various kinds, but most of them, we recognize, must be subjected to rigorous diagnoses and scientific exploration. The only way we can come to grips with these difficult and complex problems is by systematic study with the use of the best tools available, and with control of as many of the variables involved as possible. We recognize that if we are to have satisfactory answers for some of our questions, extensive and intensive investigation is called for.

We would be unwise not to recognize these three functions, and the resulting configuration, of the Round Table. If we do not, we could quite easily confuse these functions in a way that would weaken the whole programme. Research requires a formalization of investigation which is not demanded in education or social action, although these latter undoubtedly require a degree of systematic effort. The point is that the vast range of problems we have identified present various opportunities and call for different approaches and methods of attack. Some we shall discuss—but not investigate in a formal way; some we shall attempt to solve by immediate or long-term discussion and action—but not subject to rigorous study; some we shall submit to research—but not discuss here in any detail or act upon, until some research results are available. There are, then, three functions: they interact, they feed one another, and in many ways they support one another. The very variety of functions, it may be said, is a real strength of this Round Table.

The various functions, however, create problems. Some of us are more interested in one function than another; one function may adversely affect another—for example, the desire for action may bias or

distort research; co-ordination is difficult—the staff people may wonder whether they are teachers, promoters, politicians or researchers; planning on three fronts is not easy, and especially so if we who are participants do not understand the parts of the total project; it is difficult to keep all parts of the programme moving forward in balanced fashion. But if we are aware of these difficulties and recognize their nature we can probably prevent them from weakening the programme as a whole.

QUESTIONS FOR A RESEARCH PROGRAMME

May I now turn to several questions about the nature of our research operation, and particularly about the decisions we have to make concerning the level of generality of the questions we want to explore, and the degree of certainty we shall demand in the answers.

(1) The first question is as to the level of generality. Are we to concern ourselves with grand themes, the larger questions, the big issues, or are we to give attention to specific and particular problems? In one case, we might attempt to deal, for example, with the general problem of man in our society, and to gain such understanding as is possible of the nature of this necessarily large and general problem. But we would recognize that if we could gain some insight into this question we might have, by implication, the answers to many smaller questions. Or, on the other hand, we might deal with smaller but very specific problems such as alcoholism in Blind River, or delinquency among boys of ten to fourteen years of age in Downtown Toronto. The choice implied here is an important one: to explore grand themes as Arnold Toynbee or David Riesman or Erich Fromm have done, or to examine one aspect of our problem, as Clifford Shaw did when he studied delinquency areas in Chicago. The question is whether we attempt some very large explanation (e.g., of what appears to be the nature of dissatisfaction and discontent in our society), or whether we search for answers to smaller and specific questions. What helps us most?

Does the kind of broad analysis that Sir Geoffrey gave us in his opening paper help? Is it useful to consider Riesman's idea of the "other-directed personality," who, because he has no deep conviction or moral code of his own, must operate as if by radar, to discover what behaviour others will approve, and therefore what he may or may not do? Or are we helped by Fromm's picture of modern man consuming food, affection, love, in great quantities, but possessing no capacity to give or

to love; the man who exists but does not live, who acts almost as a robot without awareness of himself as an individual? These are but illustrations of grand themes—the grand idea by which we attempt to understand our age in one big gulp.

At the other end of the scale is the particular problem—how are working mothers, or divorcées, or mental defectives "distributed" in Canada? What can we infer from the "distribution"? Is alcoholism related to the number of "outlets" or taverns? These are interesting, if somewhat specialized problems, research on which would presumably give detailed and relatively exact information for each inquiry. In this case, each question is very specific, and if we get our researchers out and our tabulating machines operating, we may, with luck, provide very specific answers.

In any case, the distinction I am attempting to make, may now be clear. There are many levels of generality. At what level would we like to operate? Do we lean towards the specific or the general in our *primary* effort? At what level can we operate, given our training and resources and the very arrangements of this Round Table?

(2) Another question we might consider is the degree of certainty we expect in our research findings. This is, of course, not unrelated to the question I have just discussed, but requires separate treatment.

We can be satisfied with little certainty or dissatisfied with great certainty, and this might be true in either large or small questions. Whether a certain lump is a benign tumour or cancer could be of little matter, and one could be unconcerned with certainty in this respect; but if it were on the body of someone I cared for, I'd be willing to pay for very high certainty. Whether recent immigrants are being integrated into Canadian culture or whether Canadians are really evolving a distinctive culture or not: these are large questions and we may be satisfied with hints or clues—low certainty—as to the answer. But if either were the most important question for the Round Table, and we were planning to invest our whole budget according to the answer, we should want to be much more secure about that answer.

In a recent professional journal on sociology, there appeared almost side by side an article by Morris Ginsberg on "Moral Bewilderment" and another by a less well-known sociologist on "Empathy and Leadership." Ginsberg's article is broadly speculative in nature. With penetrating insight he seeks to examine the nature of moral bewilderment in our age and to explain its various aspects and causes. While the

article is based on shrewd observation and analysis, it is speculative in nature—there is little fact to rest on—and one would have to say the degree of certainty in its conclusions would not be high. The leadership study, carried out, I assume, at very considerable cost by a large staff, proves fairly conclusively that air force commanders in a specified air force unit who were popular as leaders were distinguished from those who were not popular by virtue of their high rating on a factor called "empathy." In this conclusion, we can have considerable confidence; we can say that the degree of certainty is high. It does not explain leadership as a total phenomenon, or even the factor called "empathy" in other situations, nor is it intended to do so. But in the limited conclusion, there is a high degree of certainty.

This illustration shows the usual, but not necessary, conjunction of high generality with low certainty and low generality with high certainty. But we can separate the two and probably must do so in our plans. It can safely be said, however, that if we wish a high degree of certainty, we must be prepared to pay the costs either in dollars for research, or in limitation of the question—or perhaps both.

(3) Another question is the kind of certainty we wish. Here I refer to qualitative rather than quantitative distinction; between *intuitive certainty* and *scientific certainty*. By intuitive certainty, I mean the kind of certainty that comes from confidence that one knows and understands a friend or is loved by one's wife. One does not undertake research to discover such facts. They are known intuitively. Research is not required because such proof is not necessary.

I need hardly suggest that such intuitive certainties provide a basic guide for many of us on a large number of matters whether we are in business, industry or a profession. I happen to be intimate with two medical doctors of quite different generations. The younger one uses laboratory and X-ray tests consistently, and has been most successful in practice. The second, some thirty years older, with wide experience, relies both on experience and on intuition, but the latter plays a very important rôle in his work. The kind of certainty demanded by these two men is quite different and it is obvious to me that there are advantages and values in both kinds. (I often waver in my judgment as to which of the two would provide the better treatment in a variety of situations.)

This discussion is not unrelated to our work here. If we want scientific certainty, we must, by definition, undertake scientific study of

the questions we have in mind, for to secure such certainty we require a narrowly defined field, carefully defined questions, and intensive investigation.

A PROGRAMME FOR THE ROUND TABLE

With these comments and questions as background—and I believe we must recognize these functions and questions honestly if we are to be effective in this Round Table—let me review briefly some of the issues which the various group reports have suggested for further work —research, study, action—by the Round Table. It appears to me that there are at least four types or levels of questions which concern us. They are philosophical questions, questions of policy, of action, and of research.

(1) Philosophical questions, or questions of the most general nature which would require us to search for fundamental explanations, have been mentioned frequently during these days of review. I would include here questions with which we began the Round Table meeting: "What is well-being?" "What is the nature of social efficiency?" During subsequent sessions a variety of other questions have been raised that return to these two basic matters: for example, almost every group raised the question of the nature of a "mature" or "good" community. And in respect of behaviour in the community, various groups have asked why *greed* is so obviously present, or why *conformity* seems to be such a dominant pattern of life. Repeatedly we have heard reports that raised issues in respect to values and ultimate ends for Canadians today.

Now these questions, as I have implied, are of the most general nature. If we are to deal with them, we cannot rely on narrow and precise methods of research, but must explore and speculate. But while our answers may only provide us with a kind of intuitive certainty, these may have for us a high and sufficient degree of certainty. They may also, incidentally, provide us with a framework without which it may be very difficult for us to deal with some of the lesser problems that confront us.

In the light of this, I am wondering whether we would not be wise to establish a small panel to investigate these questions further. I think a small group composed of a social scientist, a social philosopher, a theologian, and a political scientist, might be asked to meet for a day a week during the next year to explore them. I can visualize the members of this group spending the next six months trying to discover how to communicate with one another, but once they have achieved this con-

dition, they may well move rapidly and usefully to establish a basic frame of reference for this whole Round Table. We have, in this Round Table, already initiated the exploration of these general questions and we might expect from this panel some more precise description of the good life for our day, and some explanation of what blocks that life in Canada at the present time.

(2) The second level is taken up with what I should call "policy issues"; that is, questions which involve some degree of statesmanship in the development of tactics and strategies to secure certain ends we consider desirable.

Some of these are large questions which might require something approximating a Royal Commission to investigate them, but others are smaller, and might easily be studied by a small group of Round Table members. By way of illustration, I suggest the following topics that have been identified in this meeting and that might suitably be classified in this category:

(*a*) What is the quality and quantity of preparation required by youth for living in this rapidly changing age?
(*b*) What are the educational and technical requirements of our society?
(*c*) How can women secure a "full life" in a highly industrialized community?
(*d*) What is the logical "regional unit" for physical planning, social planning and co-ordinated municipal services?
(*e*) What instruments of government are required to facilitate "community" development?
(*f*) What plans may be developed for training municipal administrators and improving municipal administration?
(*g*) What provision should be made for low-cost housing?

On such questions as these there already exists a good deal of information, although we may need to supplement what does exist with some explorations of our own. But we would need to recognize that these are rather large and general questions, scientific study of which would be a very time-consuming and expensive procedure. What is probably required here, however, is a combination of fact and experienced judgment, which would in all likelihood provide a satisfactory degree of certainty for us. In other words, here again fresh, original scientific research on our part is hardly required. Mature judgment, together with the facts available, would probably provide us with all the certainty we require for action.

(3) A third level presents what I should call "action questions." At this point we are concerned with how we can initiate, stimulate and

sustain activity to relieve certain problems about which we have fairly clear convictions. Here I place such problems, emerging from group reports, as the following:

(*a*) Getting the provincial government to give administrative help and advice to local communities;
(*b*) Encouraging provincial recreation bodies to step in and advise local recreational groups;
(*c*) Promoting adult education at the local community level;
(*d*) Supporting adequate planning bodies in local municipalities;
(*e*) Getting local people involved in community affairs.

To many of these questions we feel we already have appropriate answers. In many cases it seems to me the answers are biased by middle-class urban attitudes, but it is apparent that we do have firm convictions on these matters. It may be that we should question our intuitive certainty here. Satisfactory answers may require active experimentation—the testing of our best hunches as to the underlying problems by programmes designed to secure action in the area we desire.

(4) Finally, there are questions for research. Here we frankly recognize our present incapacity to provide clear answers; we may have hunches and clues, but we seek a greater degree of certainty than these provide. In this respect, we have identified a wide range of problems, almost all related to some aspect of life in the local community.

I am wondering if, just as at the philosophical level we need to seek some total explanation of the dilemma of modern man, so we need, in the area of research, to seek some large explanation of the many small problems we have identified in the context of the local community. This search may mean less certainty than if we kept to specific rather than general problems, but the resulting picture of the whole may justify this loss.

Many of the problems we have identified can hardly be seen accurately if we regard them as problems isolated from the community as a whole. Why is communication in Blind River poor? Can we find an answer to this without both vertical and horizontal views of the culture of the whole community? Why is the average man politically impotent, and to a considerable degree socially impoverished, in Downtown Toronto? Can we discover the reason without reference to industrial development, urban size, trends in the media of mass communication and the values held to be important in the whole community? Why are working and living divorced in new "impact areas"? Can we explain this divorce without regard to trends in the economic, political and religious areas

of life in the whole community? These initial questions are all important in themselves, yet they are so interrelated that separate investigation may be not only expensive and difficult, but perhaps scientifically inappropriate. This view is partially confirmed by Robert Lynd when he says:

> It is a scientific commonplace today that all aspects of the behaviour of an individual tend to hang together and to interact in some fashion, rational or irrational and that on the institutional level, likewise, everything affects and is affected by everything else. The lines of connection may be illogical, and institutions may interact in functionally clumsy ways, but interact they do. We no longer feel at ease in talking about the "economic man," the "political man," and the "social man"; and we may even assert that "of course" and "in general," in a world of ramified institutional interdependence, we cannot hope to cope successfully with basic economic problems viewed solely as economic problems, with basic political problems viewed solely as political problems, or with urban, familial, or other problems viewed likewise within an artificially circumscribed field of institutional relevance. Thus the problem of the generally low state of municipal politics and government (including such phenomena as the growing indifference of urban voters, the unwillingness of the abler citizens to stand for local office, and the prevalence of administrative corruption) may not be viewed as solvable solely on the political level of analysis and action, by enacting new ordinances and state laws, by educating citizens in their civic responsibilities, and by exhorting better men to run for office. For these problems of municipal politics and government have long ganglia deeply imbedded in such things as the growing size of urban units in which citizens live as mobile, untied-in individuals, and in the extreme emphasis upon private money-making as the way to security and status.

I am wondering, therefore, if we would not be wise to have as our major research undertaking the study of the social history and fabric of several total communities; the object would be an understanding of the nature of the community and its reaction to new forces in contemporary life. As separate but related parts of each of these community studies, we might undertake a series of intensive studies of a number of aspects of community life or "community problems" many of which have been identified by the work groups. Some of these might be:

(*a*) The home—how people regard it, how people buy it, how they care for it, how they plan to dispose of it;
(*b*) Health—the state of physical and mental health in the community, the health services, how these services are regarded, how they are used;
(*c*) Group relationships—the groups which exist, how they regard one another, how they interact, the loci of tension between groups;

(*d*) Work—the meaning of work to people, what they earn, spend, save, how they regard both work and money;
(*e*) Schools—what they teach, how they teach, how these two are related to local and national developments.

There are many other such problems which have been identified by the various groups, such as those presented by transients, youth, working mothers, communication, municipal governments, etc. Which of these would be selected for intensive study must await consideration by Round Table leaders. There might well be a dozen such specific studies, but they would all be conducted within the context of a larger community study, to which they would, of course contribute, and through which each separate study would be made a good deal more meaningful. The suggestion is, then, that the basic effort of the Round Table be directed towards comprehensive research in several communities as wholes, and that a number of intensive studies of particular aspects of life in these communities be conducted as well.

NEXT STEPS

It remains now merely to suggest the task of the Round Table in the next few months. My own prejudices in this respect have already been revealed and it is only necessary to recapitulate.

It should be emphasized, however, that decisions in these matters must be made by officials of the Round Table and that they are not in any manner committed by my view of the functions and tasks of the project as a whole. I should think that immediately following this meeting of the Round Table, the Director of the project and his advisers will meet to isolate the various problems of importance and to find the staff and the money to begin work on these. This is surely the first step in preparation for our meeting next year.

My own review of our experience this year leads me to believe that we could usefully establish three panels for further investigation:

(1) A panel to explore the larger and more general questions. The problems to which such a panel might direct its attention have already been outlined, but it needs to be reiterated that almost every work group has raised the question of values, objectives, of aims as a result of local community visits. It seems essential for the future of the Round Table that we seek some larger explanation of our society, the direction in which we are moving, and, if this direction does not promise fulfilment

of values we cherish, attempt suggestions as to broad adjustments that should be made.

(2) A panel to explore policy issues on which action may be taken. In a preceding section, I have identified some of the questions, reported by work groups, which appear to require varying degrees of consideration and study before action on them is taken. It may be that a panel could work these questions over during the year and report for our consideration at the next meeting of the Round Table. Such a panel should have sufficient experience and funds to enable them quickly to bring to bear on each of the problems assigned to them the most recent data and knowledge. Their recommendations would then provide us with the required degree of certainty, before we take action.

(3) A panel to initiate and supervise research projects. Here the basic studies should probably be the three or four community studies suggested. But there could be, in addition, many separate but related studies in each of these communities. Some of these might be undertaken by other organizations and agencies. For example: the federal Department of Labour might undertake a study of the nature and meaning of work in these communities, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation might be willing to do studies of communication in these same locations, the Canadian Welfare Council might be persuaded to do studies of the home and its meaning for people in these communities. In addition (or as an alternative), some industries might be willing to provide funds to undertake studies of working mothers, or youth, or inter-group relations, etc., in which they may have a special interest. Presuming such a development, there will undoubtedly be a considerable task of delineating each study with clarity and precision and a very demanding task of co-ordination. This should not, however, prove insurmountable.

CONCLUSION

It is entirely proper that after a week together, exploring the impact of industry on modern man, we should conclude our discussion with far more numerous and searching questions in our minds than when we began. Socrates was fond of suggesting that the wise man is one who recognizes how little he knows with certainty. In this sense, we conclude our discussions as wise men, sensitive to our lack of understanding of the great developments of our age, but determined to pursue the search for those insights which at present elude us.

Reviews

Academic Freedom

The two volumes here under review furnish ample proof that the American proclivity for self-scrutiny is not always a Bad Thing. Its manifestations in loyalty tests, congressional probes and the whole apparatus of McCarthyism should not blind us to its other and salutary side. In these volumes the enemies of academic liberty are themselves probed, but with so much historical understanding, in so open and judicious a fashion, as to do honour to the principle of self-scrutiny, turning it into an instrument of self-analysis, self-realization and self-improvement. (Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1955, pp. xiii, 527; Robert M. MacIver, *Academic Freedom in our Time*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1955, pp. vii, 329.)

These books are the fruit of a project proposed to Columbia University by Louis M. Rabinowitz and financed out of his generosity and public spirit. They constitute a full-dress investigation into the history of American academic freedom and a diagnosis of its present state. The results are formidable—over eight hundred pages packed with fact and thick with implication—but the zeal is dispassionate, the method scholarly, and the style candid and persuasive.

In the first and longer volume the gold thread of academic liberty (here and there appearing not a little tarnished) appears and reappears, firmly warped into the texture of the historical development of the universities. The large issues to which our institutions of learning owe their character and their very being are not neglected. Our Western tradition of learning is shown to have deep roots in medieval concepts of inquiry. The indebtedness of the early American colleges to Great Britain as a source of men and money, no less than ideas, is gratefully acknowledged. And what was subsequently owed to the concepts of *Lehrfreiheit* and *Lernfreiheit* is explored, together with the reasons why the American imagination was seized with the idea that academic freedom, as a condition of scholarly searching, alone gave to an institution its status as a university.

The inquiry proceeds to the turn-of-the-century, when the issue of academic freedom was seen as a clash between free disinterested investigation and self-seeking reactionary corporations. It ends with the establishment in 1915 of the American Association of University Professors, the formation

of which came far later than might be expected: "The ideology of the profession, claiming to transcend all ideology, did not countenance permanent commitments even to an organization for self-help."

The second volume, written by a professor emeritus of Columbia for many years a member of the University of Toronto, is sharpened in focus by being restricted to our own time. It concludes with a plan of strategy for the present and future defence of academic liberties. Stress is laid where it should be, not least on the number of proper lines of defence, on the part governing boards can and do play in the maintenance of intellectual liberty, on the decisive rôle of a liberal president, on the powers for good of the alumni and the student body.

The faculty, which must be its own main line of defence, is asked to search its soul for utilitarian attitudes towards knowledge and for signs of capitulation to the anti-intellectual bias of the times. There is proper castigation for professors, especially in fields such as education and social studies, who regard research as "the operation and discovery of techniques; theory the schematism of techniques." The inadequacy of AAUP to knit together the profession, in spite of its brilliant record and firm stands on principle, is seen as an incentive to reinforce by every legitimate means the ranks of academic defence. Surprisingly but inevitably the closing sentences assert that it is the people themselves who are the final guardians of their own institutions and that the enlightenment of the public and the effective engagement of their understanding and sympathy is, for all academics, a primary task.

The Canadian reader, knocked out by the impact of this pair of guided missiles, regains his senses slowly. They order the matter better here, is his first conscious thought. But he is unlikely to possess a knowledge of the academic history of his own country. He feels confusedly that "it can't happen here and if it has it isn't typical." Compared with American *causes célèbres* from the days of Increase Mather to those of McCarthy, ours is a colourless chronicle. The feats of predatory and defensive agility south of the border make Canadian ruminations on academic freedom resemble those of the musk-ox, an independent fellow too, but with slower basal metabolism and different tactics.

Tradition in Canada is resistant to change, in government and academic administration as elsewhere; our bi-cultural society shrinks from the partisan probe. Mr. J. B. Priestley has recently recorded his belief that behind the façade of Canadian life is a "man who says No" to much that is experimental and socially desirable. He also says "No" to open intolerance and overt persecution. Governments, especially provincial governments, are more lax than in America. There is less visible patriotism and an absence of pronunciamentos.

There has been little if any suppression of academic freedom in Canadian universities. Lacking a counterpart to these two volumes, we can only surmise, from imperfect knowledge, the reasons for our seeming good fortune. It would appear that French-speaking institutions maintain the traditional medieval liberty of debate. It would also seem that each of them is homogeneous to a point where dangers from their own staffs are rare; a

traditional process of selection has obtained in which the militant rationalist has not been a favoured candidate for appointment. English-speaking institutions whose original foundations had a Protestant basis have in the main carried on the tradition which holds that free speech is a necessary protection for dissenters. But they too have selected the candidates for their higher positions not without regard for ideology. The western state-supported institutions have up to the present enjoyed what may be described as frontier freedoms, the automatic toleration of a wide range of individuality. In such great congeries as McGill or Toronto, a variety of traditions expressed through many staff members have combined to support the principles of liberalism. Identifiable cases of suppression are very hard to discover, at least within present memory. Professor Frank Underhill and others had undoubtedly a choppy passage through the thirties, but as undoubtedly they had some support in the highest quarters. Father Georges-Henri Lévesque has, more recently, disappeared from Laval University to reappear as head of a new Dominican foundation but for reasons that will remain unknown until the Last Judgment, at least.

Credit of the most unstinted kind must go to a small group of presidents of Canadian universities who have brought the integrity of their personal characters, their traditional liberalism (old-fashioned, perhaps, and unformulated, but vigorous and effective) into the government of their respective institutions.

And what of the future? The present calm may be a prelude, not to storm, but to the disclosure that the true centre of barometric pressure has quietly removed itself elsewhere. Canadian universities will in future, as in the past, reflect the state of society and, depending as they now do increasingly on tax money, and serving as they now do the intimate professional needs of the community, they will inevitably reflect the ideals of the community more and more closely. Size, too, is involved. The small church college of fifty years ago could pursue its version of academic freedom unregarded. But the enormous, multi-faculty, mega-committee state institution is another matter. We may well suppose that, in the same way as the modern citizen, in losing his economic mobility to a corporation, a labour union, or a state department, has lost his powers of initiative, the intellectual will similarly find his powers of independent thought abridged.

In society at large the training and conditioning of men to fill special rôles has become the rule. We find the skilled publicist, *au fait* with all the devices of communication and public relations, in possession of machinery by which a point of view can be put, repeatedly, logically, earnestly. Individuals can no longer match the persuasive argumentation of corporate bodies. Manipulation replaces explicitly assigned authority and when none can tell who make decisions there can be no point of attack. To repeat the phrasing of a classic analysis—a definition of reality is imposed within which only limited viewpoints are possible. And the economy, apparently so free, is monitored by government agencies till the poor woman wanting to buy a sack of carrots from a farmer is forbidden by all the complex majesty of the law.

That such developing conditions in the community at large will finally

reflect themselves in our institutions of learning, the more gloomy of our intelligent friends regard as inevitable. The universities grow in size by arithmetical increases in their student body and faculty, but the complexity of their problems increases in at least geometrical proportion. It is a safe prophecy, we are told, that when the present generation of university heads goes—men trained in the old liberal traditions and with a sense of "the constant service of the antique world"—when we are bereft of these by the passing of time, the full force of the new society will make itself felt in a new generation of brisk administrators. A "power élite" will appear, skilled to originate, push, halt or confuse academic legislation. Expediency, opportunism and manipulation will replace the present principle of service to understood ideals and free discussion of alternatives. "Education" will become a vested interest inside the confines of the university. We shall see an internal power group, adroit at penetrating the mass, either of staff or of students, armed with all the facts, glib in rejoinder, determined to use ideas to attain their ends. These power points within the old, supposedly free apparatus of discussion, will serve as "simultaneous centres of manipulation and authority." In such circumstances, the possessor of academic freedom will be, like Chesterton's working-class voter, in possession of a railway ticket while there is a permanent block on the line. For it will be easier to go round a man's opinions than to oppose them; easier to fill a committee with a majority of safe members than to exclude a dissident voice; easier to make the individual look foolish against a background of prepared opinion. Academic freedom, for all we know, is being successfully established on the eve of a revolution which will largely erase its meaning.

It may be so, but we must refuse to admit the inevitability. The essence of academic freedom is that honest academics should continue to speak out and, as the volumes under review show, there has never been a lack of those who will do so. And perhaps in the long run, like the foolish preaching of the gospel, it will turn out to have meant far more than was apparent at the time.

ROY DANIELLS

The First Folio

In the present study of the making of the Shakespeare First Folio, Sir Walter Greg, the greatest living authority on dramatic texts of the Elizabethan age, has given the most thorough and comprehensive account that has yet been written of the materials and processes that went to the production of this first collected edition of Shakespeare's plays, from its inception several years before it was offered for sale to its actual appearance in November or December of 1623. (*The Shakespeare First Folio: Its Bibliographical and Textual History*, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1955, pp. xvi, 496, $6.50.) The book is divided into four parts: "Planning the Collection" (chap. I), "Questions of Copyright" (chap. II), "Editorial Problems" (chaps. III–V), "The Printing" (chap. VI); but the first four chapters are mainly introduc-

tory to the central problem dealt with in chapter V (much the longest in the volume), the problem of the kind of copy from which each of the thirty-si plays in the Folio was printed. Thus the study applies its historical findin towards the solution of the issues which are of primary concern to present-day editors of Shakespeare: the relations of the quartos published during Shakespeare's lifetime and of the Folio text to what Shakespeare actually wrote for the stage.

The findings are more optimistic than the layman might expect. Despite the diverse materials supplied to the printers, the normal course seems to have been as follows: the draft of a play which Shakespeare prepared for the theatre—what bibliographers term the "foul papers"—became the property of the acting company of the Globe. After this draft had been read and approved, with the addition, perhaps, of minor revisions and fuller stage directions, it was transcribed, and this transcript became the Company's prompt-book which was sent to the licensing authorities for official allowance and thereafter followed as the Company's official version of the play. The "foul papers" were filed away for future reference, should a subsequent transcript of the play for any reason be required. Since the prompt-book became the licensed text for stage presentation, the Company naturally valued it more than the author's foul papers; and hence, Shakespeare's autograph version normally was given to the printer when the Company approved the publication of a play. The text of the "good" quartos and of the plays printed for the first time in the Folio thus seem to derive, for the most part, from Shakespeare's autograph. The Folio editors normally followed a text that had already appeared in quarto, though if the quarto text for any reason seemed to them dubious, they collated it with the Company's prompt-book; and in a few cases, where foul papers probably were not available, they printed directly from the prompt-book or a transcript of it. There is every reason to suppose that Heminge and Condell were conscientious editors of the First Folio and that they did their best, according to their lights, to present authentic texts of Shakespeare's plays. If they were not possessed of a modern Shakespearian textual critic's standards and scruples for exactitude, they were honest, and painstaking by the standards of their day, devoted to Shakespeare's memory, and in an incomparably better position to judge what constituted an authentic Shakespearian text than anyone else can ever be.

As the author himself emphasizes in his preface, the findings of the present study are far from definitive. The very active groups of bibliographers on both sides of the Atlantic are constantly revising older theories of textual transmission—especially what relates to the actual printing of the quartos and the First Folio—and thus adding to our understanding of what constitutes the best Shakespearian text for each of the plays in the canon. Among such studies, Sir Walter Greg's is the most authoritative that has yet appeared. It is, moreover, clearly, incisively, and urbanely written, so that the layman as well as the specialist may profit from its pages.

H. S. WILSON

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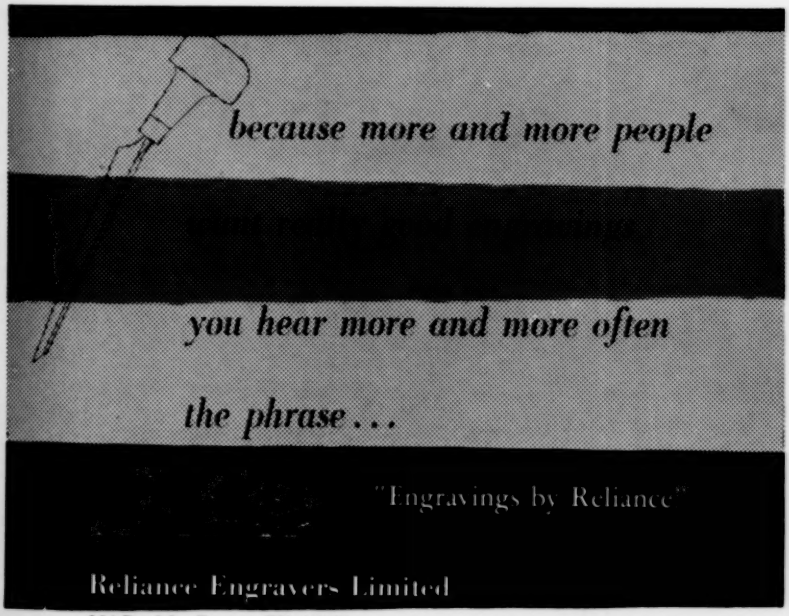

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